exp. 85/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

16 PAGES
IS 150

AL FAJR

JERUSALEM

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

(USPS 686-630

NOVEMBER 23, 1984
VOL.V,NO.238

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

(Left:) Sharaf al-Tibi died from his wounds; (Right) Mohammed Abu Oraf, at Ramallah General Hospital, injured.

BZU Student Killed, 8 Injured in Army Raids

A Bir Zeit University student was killed and at least eight other students were injured November 21 when Israeli troops fired live ammunition into crowds of peaceful demonstrators on the old campus. Soldiers at roadblocks around the campus prevented the entrance of ambulances and delayed the exit of private cars carrying injured students for half an hour.

Sharaf Khalil al-Tibi, 24, a fifth-year honours engineering student from Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip, was shot in the chest. He died from his wounds while lying in a car waiting to pass a military checkpost near the village of Jifna. Medical sources at Ramallah Government Hospital where al-Tibi was pronounced dead on arrival told university officials the student's life could have been saved had he arrived earlier.

Mithqal Yacoub is being treated at Ramallah Hospital for a bullet wound in the chest. After a three-hour operation, doctors said his condition was stable.

At Maqassed Hospital two students are being treated for leg and foot wounds. Mohammed Abu Oraf, 20, is paralysed from the knee down and Majed Jamal Abdel Fattah, 20, had several toes shot off.

According to eyewitnesses from BZU, Israeli border patrollers and army entered the campus and sprayed the area with bullets. Students had been holding a scheduled political rally in support of the Palestine National Council meeting in Amman the next day. When the army appeared on the scene students threw stones and the soldiers responded with gunfire. A university official told *Al Fajr* the soldiers' response was unusually brutal. "Normally they shoot tear gas and maneuvre for a while trying to reach some kind of cease-fire agreement," he said. The official said that this time shortly after their arrival soldiers shot at students with the aim to kill, not to disperse.

The Israeli press reported the soldiers' fire followed the injury of an Israeli officer by a flying stone.

After the clashes with the students, soldiers surrounded the old campus as students retreated inside. Those trying to nurse the injured students had difficulty finding transportation. Ambulances which were called from Maqassed Hospital were held up at a checkpost leading to the university. One student was forced to drive the injured in his own car, using back roads to avoid the checkposts.

At the Jifna intersection army patrols refused to allow the car carrying the injured students to reach the hospital. According to one of the students accompanying al-Tibi, three soldiers manning the post held them up for half an hour. The student, who refused to be identified, said one of the soldiers was militant in his refusal, threatening to shoot at the car if it continued. It was during this time, said the student, that al-Tibi stopped breathing. After continuous pressure from the students in the car, the soldiers finally allowed the car to proceed but forced one student to stay with them and confiscated all their identity cards and car registration.

continued on page 2

Labourer Killed In Ramallah

A 21-year-old labourer from Nabi Saleh, Bakr Ali Abdullah, was killed November 22 when Israeli soldiers opened fire at a demonstration of youths in Ramallah, north of Jerusalem. He was shot in the abdomen and kidney. A secondary school student, Jihad Yousef, from Deir Dibwan was also wounded in the leg.

Abdullah was taken to the Ramallah Government Hospital and pronounced dead on arrival. The student is currently undergoing treatment in hospital, but eyewitnesses say his condition is not serious.

The demonstration began shortly after heavily armed Israeli soldiers dispersed a prior protest by women organized by the Democratic Women's Alliance. The women's protest demonstration was against the murder of a Bir Zeit University student, Sharaf Tibi, 23, by Israeli soldiers the day before. Around 200 women carrying black flags gathered at Jamal Abd al-Nasser Mosque in al-Bireh, Ramallah's twin city, to mourn the death of

continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

Israel Wishes Withdrawl From Lebanon p.2
Jiftlik Landowners Defend Land Rights. p.3
Palestinian Artists Elect Officers. p.4
Interview With Auther Stephen Green p.5
Afif Safieh Imagines Future PNC p.6
Ramallah Hospital in Crumbling Conditions p.7
Folkloric Troupe Preserves Palestinian Culture p.11

PNC Begins in Amman

The 17th session of the Palestinian National Council opened in Amman on Thursday evening, November 22, despite a boycott for the first time in 16 years from major PLO factions. All factions of the Democratic Alliance and factions of the National Alliance are boycotting the meeting, while Fateh, which called the meeting, the Arab Liberation Front, and most independent delegates attended.

Last minute efforts by Palestinian, Arab and international parties to postpone the meeting in order to avoid a formal PLO split all failed. Last November 8, Fateh called a PNC to convene before the end of the month in Amman in order to "activate Palestinian national institutions." In a press conference in Amman November 21, Fateh Central Committee member Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) described the decision to hold the PNC meeting as "historic, because it is the session of independent Palestinian national decision." He continued that the meeting will end the stage of PLO paralysis and prepare for building the future. Abu Iyad rejected, the idea that the session will cause a split. "We in Fateh are concerned about unity," he said.

The PNC is scheduled to discuss political, military and financial reports which will be presented by the PLO executive committee. The council is expected to elect a new chairman for the PNC, following PNC chairman Khaled al-Fahoum's refusal to attend the meeting.

King Hussein of Jordan will make a speech at the opening PNC session. Radio Monte Carlo reported that the Jordanian monarch's speech will focus on the Palestinian problem, inter-Arab relations and PLO-Jordanian relations. The radio also said that Jordan, which has put great effort into the meeting, will send a high-level delegation

continued on page 14

Lebanon Resistance Increases, Talks Bog

The fourth round of Lebanese-Israeli military talks over an Israeli army withdrawal from south Lebanon ended November 21 with no noticeable progress made.

The military talks at UNIFIL headquarters in Naqoura concluded their fourth round without reaching an agreement. Lebanon is asking for US$10 billion compensation from Israel for damages caused by its 1982 invasion. Israel has refused this demand. Other divisive issues are the roles of the South Lebanon Army and UNIFIL forces in south Lebanon. The Lebanese want an expanded role for UN forces and control over the south for the Lebanese army, not the SLA, after an Israeli pullout.

Israeli military sources in south Lebanon also reported, according to *The Jerusalem Post* November 19, that anti-Israeli resistance attacks increased during the past week.

The Israeli soldier was wounded November 19 at al-Harib, four kilometres from the Litani river, in a hand grenade attack on an Israeli army patrol. On November 18, a Katyusha rocket was fired at an Israeli army post in Sidkin, according to an Israeli military report which claimed no casualties. The military report said several Katyusha rockets and large mines were discovered throughout the week at different locations in south Lebanon. The report said they were intended to be used in attacks against Israeli targets and that all the explosive devices were safely defused.

On November 16, an Israeli army post near Tyre came under automatic fire. According to Israeli reports an RPG rocket was fired at a dam controlled by the Israeli-sponsored South Lebanon Army (SLA) near Nabatiya. No casualties were reported.

South Lebanon observed a general strike November 20 in protest against the murder of a Shi'ite Amal leader in the south. *Imam* Abd al-Latif Amin was critically injured in front of his home November 14 by unknown assailants and died a few days later while undergoing treatment in hospital.

Another Shi'ite leader, Mohammed Faqih, who was arrested along with three other leaders in south Lebanon on suspicion of supporting armed resistance against Israeli occupation, was freed November 16 and immediately deported to Beirut. The three other Shi'ite leaders had been released two days earlier. The Lebanese government pressed for their release by suspending the second round of military talks with Israel and by calling the general strike.

Further north, in Beirut, sporadic fighting was reported throughout the week in mountain areas between Druse militia under the leadership of Walid Jumblatt and the Lebanese army. Israel Radio reported that the Druse militias are stocking up with heavy artillery apparently to take over the coastal area south of Beirut after Israel withdraws. The Lebanese army is also planning to move into the Lebanese coastal area and extend its control over the coast. It earlier took control of all illegally-operating Lebanese ports in the Beirut area.

Lebanese women from the Lebanese Women's Council demonstrate infornt of the UN building in New York in protest the continued Israeli occupation of south Lebanon. The group including 20 women from south Lebanon, are currently visiting the United States to speak against Israeli occupation.

Biram, Iqrit Refugees Demand Return

Close to 600 refugees from the village of Bir'am along with refugees from Iqrit and supporters participated November 17 in an annual march to the destroyed village of Bir'am, demanding the refugees' right to return to their homes. Situated near the Lebanese border, both Bir'am and ***Iqrit were evacuated in 1948 by the Israeli military*** for 'security reasons.' Villagers were promised a speedy return home within 15 days.

According to Elias Andraus, a refugee from Bir'am and member of the *al-Awdah* (Return) movement which organised this year's march, participants gathered at the village entrance in the early morning. Buses brought other marchers from as far away as Haifa and Acre. The march proceeded from the entrance to the village church, about three kilometres away, in the pouring rain. Andraus said there would have been more people if it were not for the inclement weather.

Participants in the march included two members of the Israeli Knesset, Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, and Mohammed M'iari, from the newly-formed Progressive List for Peace made up of Arabs and Jews. Representatives were ***also sent from Ratz, Shinui, and*** the Peace Now movement.

Father Yousef Sousan, a resident of Bir'am, spoke to the gathering at the village church on the history of the village and the plight of the refugees in their struggle to return home. Sousan and the other speakers, including the two MKs and representatives of *al-Awdah* movement, put forth the demands of the refugees to be allowed to return to their village after 36 years in exile. The participants also sent a message to this effect to the Israeli prime minister.

Father Elias Chacour, a well-known priest from the village of Ibelin near Haifa, spoke to Ibelin residents about Bir'am and supported the refugees' demands.

November 17 is the anniversary of the villages' evacuation. *Al-Awdah* movement, formed a year ago by refugees from the two villages, is active on this day and others in publicising the issue of Bir'am and ***Iqrit and pressing for the return*** of the refugees.

The two Christian villages were completely razed by the Israeli army in 1951 as villagers were attempting to return home. Only the Bir'am Church was left standing. Bir'am land is currently inhabited by a kibbutz.

Representatives of two Israeli settlements in the north, Ma'ale Yosef and Marom HaGolan, sent messages last week to members of the Israeli government demanding that none of the Palestinian refugees of the two villages be allowed to return. They said any attempt to return the refugees would be faced with strong opposition from all settlements in the north.

Firebomb Destroys Publisher's Car

Palestinian publisher Raymonda Tawil's car was set afire late October 18 outside her Ramallah home.

Tawil, co-director of the Palestine Press Service office in Jerusalem, told reporters that she heard something crash outside her house late Saturday night. When she looked out the window her 1982 Opel Rekord was almost completely burnt.

Tawil told *Al Fajr* she believes the attack was the work of unnamed extremists who are trying to silence her voice, and that of her school of political thought. Tawil was hesitant to blame other Palestinians for the attack. "Until there is concrete evidence as to who is behind this attack, I can't speculate," she said.

The Israeli media used the attack to provoke intra-Palestinian friction. *The Jerusalem Post* exaggerated the attack in a four-column front-page story November 19. The Israeli media said the attack was the result of the Palestinian controversy over the reconvening of the PNC in Amman. Tawil is known to support and propagate the Amman meeting. All Palestinian newspapers denounced the car-bombing.

The Arab Journalist Association issued a statement November 19 condemning the "cowardly" attack and insisting that it "will not deter Palestinian journalists from carrying out their national and professional responsibilities."

Bir Zeit Death

continued from page 1

While university officials and military were trying to negotiate an end to the siege, soldiers from the border patrol entered the university and shot into the cafeteria. Furniture was smashed as the patrollers tried to tear down posters on campus walls.

The attack against Bir Zeit students triggered an impromptu protest demonstration from Maqassed Hospital to Damascus Gate in East Jerusalem. Israeli army patrols were also put on alert to thwart any further demonstrations.

Bir Zeit University officials issued a strongly worded protest against the indiscriminate shooting as well as the deliberate delay of medical relief vehicles. Sharaf al-Tibi was the first student killed at Bir Zeit University by Israeli occupation troops. The university administration closed the school November 22 in mourning for the murdered student and launched a international human rights publicity campaign under the slogan "No More Student Deaths."

A number of Knesset members from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality protested the attacks and called on the Knesset to hold an emergency session in order to discuss the soldiers' brutality.

The Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University also issued a statement saying that an army that must shoot unarmed students has already lost the battle. The statement also added that a government which supports such an army is "vicious." The statement called on Israeli soldiers to refuse to follow orders to shoot because they are "illegal orders."

Labourer Killed

continued from page 1

the Bir Zeit student. They proceeded through city streets in a peaceful demonstration. Israeli soldiers intervened and forcefully dispered them.

Youths from the two cities then gathered and stoned the soldiers who retaliated with submachine gunfire killing Abdullah and wounding Yousef.

The atmosphere in West Bank cities has been tense all week in light of the meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC) in Amman November 22. Ramallah sources said some of the women demonstratos were also gathering to protest the PNC meeting.

Heavily armed Israeli soldiers have been stationed everywhere in anticipation of anti-Israeli activities.

Khalaf Targeted After Attack on Israeli Officer

Two fire bombs were thrown at the home of elected Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf early November 21 causing minor damage to his car parked in front of the house. One bomb fell on the car damaging the windshield and hood; the second fell a few metres away, according to local press reports.

Khalaf was adamant that the attackers were not Palestinians as the Israeli media had reported. "Those who did it are the enemies of our people," Khalaf said, "and are attempting to stir internal strife."

The Ramallah mayor, who was elected to his post in the 1976 elections and dismissed by the Israeli military in 1982 along with other nationalist Palestinian mayors, lost his foot when a bomb planted in his car by Israeli terrorists exploded in 1980. Members of the Jewish terror group responsible for the attack on Khalaf and Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a in 1982 are currently being tried in Israeli criminal courts.

Two days earlier a hand grenade was thrown at the car of Ramallah's appointed military mayor, Lt. Col. Maurice Biton, while parked in front of the municipality building. The bomb failed to explode.

Soldiers were rushed to the scene and searched the area for the attacker. Several residents were rounded up for interrogation.

Jiftlik Landowner Refutes Rabin's Claims

Jiftlik landowners refuted claims made this week by Israel Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin that the demolition of 73 shacks in the area which took place early this month was based on 'security' grounds. Farmers have maintained that Israeli authorities want to stop cultivation of Arab land in the area and annex it to settlements. Replying to questioning by Knesset members Tawfiq Toubi from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and Yossi Sarid from the Citizens Rights Movement, Rabin said November 19 that the agriculturally rich Jiftlik "is located near the border and security considerations are foremost." He also argued that the farmers whose shacks were destroyed are residents of Nablus and Tubas.

Reacting to Rabin's statements, Wahid al-Masri from Nablus who owns large areas of land in Jiftlik, said that the Israeli defence minister apparently does not have all the facts of the situation. Al-Masri, who heads the Palestinian Vegetable Board, revealed that the Israeli defence minister refused to meet with him in order to explain the situation in Jiftlik and to discuss the plight of the farmers.

In an interview with *Al Quds* daily, November 20, he explained that farmers had been living in the present location temporarily in accordance with an agreement with the authorities until preparations for permanent and licensed houses were completed. He explained that in 1980 farmers who were living on their land close to the Jordan river were ordered to move to the present location after the authorities designated the area as a 'security zone.'

In March 1983, farmers cooperated with the Jericho area military governor and were resettled in three housing zones. The Israeli authorities then asked for a list of the farmers' names in order to make preparations for granting construction licenses. The names were given and a location for the three zones was agreed upon but no licenses were issued despite repeated inquiries to the authorities, al-Masri said. "Instead, the Israeli authorities notified the farmers to evacuate and demolish their shacks within one hour, despite the fact that warnings from the military governorate's zoning department gave them more time," he continued.

Furthermore, al-Masri pointed out that the land on which the shacks were established belongs to the village of Qarawa al-Foqa, and that there are two buildings belonging to the neighbouring Massu'a settlement, which refutes Israeli security claims.

Al-Masri, who had been active in resisting Israeli plans to demolish shacks and force farmers to leave the area, also described Rabin's claims that shacks were built one year ago as incorrect. He pointed out that farmers have been farming the land for hundreds of years and that they have always lived there. He also explained that military order 151, which outlines the borders of closed military areas, does not include this area.

Al-Masri called on the Israeli defence minister to reconsider the military's actions and allow farmers to stay on the land in order to be able to care for their fields. (The Jerusalem Post, November 20, Al Quds, November 21.)

Military to Destroy Dheisheh Shops

Two residents of Dheisheh refugee camp received oral notices this week from the Israeli military government that five small shops which they newly built on the Hebron-Jerusalem road in front of the camp will be demolished December 3.

Israeli military officers visited Yousef Farah and Ibrahim Mahboub November 18 and informed them of the demolition order supposedly issued because the buildings are built, according to authorities, too close to the main highway. Israeli settlers pressured the military earlier this year to destroy shops near Dheisheh's main entrance to combat stone throwers but lawyers for the shop owners won an injunction against any demolition.

Abdullah Hamdan, manager of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) office in Hebron, was quoted in *Al Quds* daily November 20 as protesting the order, saying that the order is unprecedented. He added that "the military government in the West Bank will be committing a violation (if it demolishes the buildings) particularly since the two buildings of shops were built with UNRWA permission." Refugee camps are under UNRWA jurisdiction and any construction in the camps should need only UNRWA consent. Hamdan also said any physical changes in the camps must be done through the UN agency.

UNRWA Acting Director George Currie told *Al Fajr* the international relief organisation "is giving the matter its serious consideration." They will study the issue to see how to react to it, he said.

The two buildings house a total of five stores with an area of 140 square metres. Construction on the buildings was completed only six months ago and some of the stores are not yet leased.

On Monday, November 19 army checkposts were set up around Dheisheh camp. Eyewitnesses said the military confiscated more than 50 identity cards from camp residents as they passed the checkposts. Residents must report to military headquarters to retrieve their IDs.

Residents of Dheisheh also reported a heavy military presence in the camp. They said the camp resembles an army camp with military patrols everywhere. Authorities declared Dheisheh a closed military area last week, banning non-residents from entering. The order, however, was lifted after 48 hours.

Israeli settler militant Rabbi Moshe Levinger is in his third week of a sit-in in front of Dheisheh. He demands that the camp be emptied of its 10,000 refugee residents and then demolished to make room for Jewish settlements.

Teachers' Union Holds Annual Conference

The General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank (GCGST) held its first annual conference in Jerusalem November 16 and endorsed four resolutions to promote teachers' rights, including the right to organise a union.

More than 200 teachers, members of the regional branch committees and the General Committee took part in the conference at the Professional Unions building in the Jerusalem suburb Beit Hanina. The teachers discussed the committee's report of GCGST activities throughout the year. The report, among other things, outlined efforts made to obtain military approval of the establishment of a union to monitor the teachers' professional interests. The committee, which currently serves as a *de facto* union representing teachers, has not been recognised by the Israeli authorities on the excuse that Jordanian law does not allow teachers to have unions. The annual report mentions the committee's fight to achieve their goal of recognition as a union by "confronting the authorities" practices against teachers and the ongoing attempts to intervene in the internal affairs of education and in the activities of the Committee." The report also singled out the ceremonies honouring last year's top *tawjihi* (high school) graduates.

Conference participants discussed and approved the working plan for the coming year, which includes speeding up preparations for the academic conference which the GCGST plans to host and the forming and activating of regional committees in every district.

The teachers also discussed and approved the internal bylaws of the GCGST, which will govern the union's activities in the future. They also decided to publish the bylaws and distribute them to member teachers.

Before closing, conference participants approved a number of resolutions on the rights of teachers. Conference delegates also recommended that teachers be given the opportunity to meet with lawyers to be told the regulations and rights governing civil employees.

The GCGST was established in 1981 after a two-month strike by the government school teachers in the occupied territories to demand better economic conditions. Committee members have been subject to severe punishment from Israeli authorities, scores of teachers being sent into forced retirement, transferred to remote areas, or even fired arbitrarily for their activities.

Military Still Holding **Tawjihi** Students

Israeli military authorities are still holding at least eight high school students from the village of al-Mughayir, northeast of Ramallah, on unspecified political charges. Five of the eight are still undergoing interrogation. All were arrested in a massive roundup on October 30.

According to the family of one of the detainees, Bashir Mousa Ahmad al-Haj Mohammed, a *tawjihi* student at Turmus Aiya Secondary School, Israeli soldiers raided their house and took their son to an unknown location. After contacting the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) last week, the family learned that Bashir is still undergoing interrogation at the Ramallah military prison. They were not allowed to visit him.

The families of the eight youths worried that their sons, many of whom are *tawjihi* students, might not be allowed to take the first semester matriculation exam in January, hence losing the entire scholastic year.

Ban Slows Jerusalem Moneychanger Trade

Trading slowed noticeably at moneychanging shops in East Jerusalem this week after a government ban on foreign curency exchange went into effect November 18. Moneychangers throughout the West Bank and Gaza were also kept busy this week by Israeli officials who paid surprise visits to their shops in search of foreign currency.

In East Jerusalem, police raided several moneychangers' shops on the first day the ban went into effect. According to police reports, foreign currency other than the Jordanian dinar was confiscated from some moneychangers in the Old City and one was taken for questioning because he did not close his shop.

According to the ban regulation issued by the Israeli Treasury Minister and the Attorney General, moneychangers without operating licenses had to shut down. Those with licenses from before the 1967 occupation, about 13, can only trade the Jordanian dinar to customers holding Jordanian passports. The dinar is a legal currency in the occupied territories.

As a result of the ban, 27 businesses in East Jerusalem were closed, police reports said. One Jerusalem moneychanger told *Al Fajr* that police and undercover agents have been coming regularly to shops all week and sometimes stand outside watching customers enter and leave. Unlicensed moneychangers on Salah al-Din Street kept their shops open but turned away all customers.

Elsewhere in the occupied territories, police and tax officials raided several businesses. *Al Quds* daily reported November 21 that the raid included Nablus, Tulkarm and Jenin where 19 "illegal" moneychangers were apprehended. Four others found in possession of banned foreign currency were also taken for questioning and their hard currency was confiscated. There are about 100 moneychangers in the three cities.

The dinar was sold at IS1410 most of the week and the market rate for the US dollar stayed around IS570.

Palestinian Artists' League Elects Officers

Local Palestinian artists formed their first organised association in the occupied territories November 16 when seven candidates won uncontested seats on the administrative committee.

The League of Palestinian Artists in the West Bank and Gaza has been in existence in the occupied territories since the early 1970s but never had an elected committee or active members.

According to Nabil Anani, new president of the league, there are currently 35 active members who have voting privileges and 30 more supporting members. Anani said the league has plans to encourage the artistic movement in the occupied territories through exhibitions, symposia and publications. He said, "We want to start an art library and want to add to the school curricula since our schools have paid no attention to art."

The cornerstone for the new league was laid September 7 when 13 artists met and established a preparatory committee to plan for the first meeting of artists scheduled October 26. In this meeting, a seven-member interim administrative committee was formed to set criteria for membership in the new association.

Five members of the interim committee met November 13 to do this. The other two, Issam Badr and Kamel Mughani, had earlier withdrawn from the committee and the whole association. The reasons for their withdrawal, according to *Al Fajr* Arabic November 14, was what they called their "lack of conviction of what is occurring inside the art movement in the occupied lands which does not serve this movement." The artists did not elaborate, only to say the move did not mean they were abandoning efforts to develop the art movement in the occupied lands. Badr and Mughani were among the initiators of an artists' association in the early 1970s.

Faisal Husseini, the head of the Arab Studies Centre and an observer of the election process, told *Al Fajr* it was his belief that "everything was carried out according to regulations." Besides Anani the new administrative committee is made up of: Suleiman Mansour, vice president; Adnan Zubeidi, secretary; Karim Dabbah, treasurer; and Issam Hilles, Taysir Barakat and Fathi Ghabin.

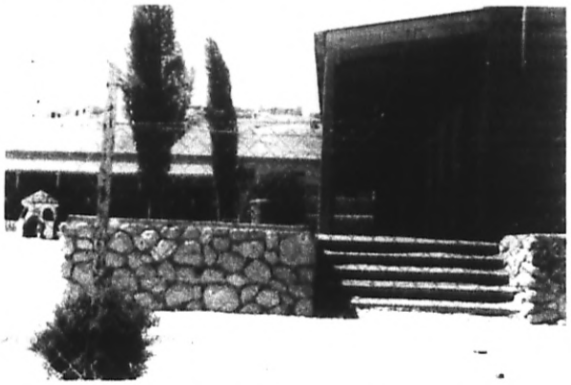
Kufr Kanna Man Jailed When Found Not Home

An Abna' al-Balad activist from Kufr Kanna, Omar Radwan Said, 24, was given a two-month prison term, a four-month suspended sentence and a IS20,000 fine by a Nazareth magistrate's court November 11 on charges of violating a town arrest order.

Said was placed under town arrest more than two years ago after graduation from Beer Sheba University. He had been planning to start graduate studies in pharmacology at Haifa's Technion University but was not able to attend due to the order confining him to his home village. Said was ordered to register at the local police station twice daily and restricted to his home at night and the village during the day hours. Said was previously imprisoned for 27 days for organising a demonstration against a visit to the area by the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

Police charged Said with violating the town arrest order when they came to his house twice but did not find him. He was previously given a suspended sentence on the same charge.

Naqab Beduin Protest School Closure



School of Laqiya threatened with closure. BA/photo

One hundred and fifty residents of Laqiya village in the Naqab demonstrated November 21 in front of the Knesset to protst the authorities' closure of the village preparatory school. The Israeli education ministry decided in August to transfer the preparatory students to Tel Sheva 20 miles away. Students hvae been on strike protesting the decision since early September.

The demonstrators, including Laqiya students, parents and respresentatives of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, shouted slogans and demanded the reopening of the Laqiya school. The school closure has affected some 250 Laqiya children. Demonstrators also demanded the return of six students to the Kseifeh school near Laqiya. The six were expelled from school after striking in support of Laqiya students.

Sultan Obayed, a resident of Laqiya, told *Al Fajr* that "The residents of Laqiya will continue to strike and demonstrate until the school is reopened." He said Laqiya residents do not accept the transfer of their children to Tel Sheva because of transportation difficulties and fear that their children may adopt non-traditional values. The Beduin community of 8000 prefers to educate their children in Laqiya to preserve the traditional Beduin way of life.

Al Ittihad newspaper reported November 22 that representatives of Laqiya residents later met with Israeli Education Minister Yitzhak Navon and presented him with their demands. They also requested the establishment of a committee to investigate their grievances.

The minister, according to *Al Ittihad*, left the room during the discussion saying that he would look into the matter in the near future.

Arab Council Delegates Meet Israeli PM

Heads of local Arab councils in Israel demonstrated November 19 in front of the Israeli Knesset, to protest their councils' deteriorating financial conditions.

During the demonstration, Arab Knesset members Abdel Wahab Darawsheh (Alignment), Tawfiq Toubi (DFPE) and Mohammed Miari (Progressive List for Peace) spoke with the council heads and expressed support for their demands.

On November 20 council representatives met with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to discuss the problems they face.

The Arab councils have been complaining for months of deteriorating financial conditions leading to sporadic strikes by town employees after their salaries were not paid. In Nazareth, the largest Arab town in Israel, city employees struck for over a month when the municipality failed to pay their salaries for the months of October and November. The strike ended November 19 when the government gave Nazareth a special grant of IS60 million to save it from bankruptcy and to pay the employees' wages.

The representatives of the Arab councils, including Mayor Ibrahim Nimr Hussein of Shafa Amr, Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad of Nazareth, and the council heads of Arrabeh, Jet, Tireh and Asifiya, handed Peres their demands. The demands included finding an immediate solution to the councils' financial problems, increasing their slice of the government's budget, allocating money for special development programmes as in Jewish cities, and halting all attempts to demolish Arab homes.

The Haifa-based *Al-Ittihad* daily quoted MK Zayyad from the Communist Democratic Front for Peace and Equality as saying that "This is the first meeting between a prime minister and representatives of the local Arab councils" since 1948. Zayyad added, according to the paper, that he left the meeting optimistic that the government is ready and willing to help them out.

'TNT' Terrorists Sentenced

The Jerusalem District Court sentenced November 20 three members of a cell of the Jewish underground known as "Terror Against Terror" (TNT) to six years imprisonment and three years suspended. Of the sentence, the accused will spend only four years in prison, with possible additional time off for good behavior.

The original charge for the three convicted of terror attacks against several holy sites was attempted murder which carries a maximum sentence of 20 years. However, a plea-bargaining deal with the prosecution reduced the charge to attempt to attack holy sites.

The accused — Amram Der'i, 26; his brother David, 23; and Uri Ben-Ayun, 24 — are all residents of Ein Kerem in Jerusalem. They confessed to planting 13 Israeli army hand grenades in a number of Jerusalem churches and mosques in late 1983 and early 1984. These include the Mashru' Mosque, the Greek Orthodox Convent, the Nabi Elazar Mosque, and the Ein Kerem Convent. A Palestinian *imam* and a Cypriot nun were injured in the attacks.

In explaining the lenient sentence, the three-judge panel said defendants had not previously grasped the gravity of their offenses. Upon capture, however, the accused cooperated with police and expressed regret for their actions, which facilitated plea-bargaining and sentence reduction, said the panel.

Ben-Ayun told the court that the public atmosphere in Israel, official opinions expressed by the government and statements of former Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan had convinced him that "harassment" and "intimidation" of Arabs was desirable. "We would wake up in the morning thinking that the Arabs would really run away like they did in 1948," he said. Ben-Ayun also stated he had received erroneous education in school about the Palestinians.

The Israeli Justice Ministry recently received a letter from Vatican officials expressing interest in the case and requesting to be informed of its outcome.

Record Inflation Despite Freeze

Less than two weeks after the three-month price freeze went into effect, the Israeli government announced November 15 a record high monthly inflation rate of 24.3 percent for October. The rate for September was 21 percent.

According to *The Jerusalem Post* November 16, the Israeli finance ministry believes that in spite of the price freeze, inflation for the months of November and December will also be very high. The forecast for November is at least a 20 percent inflation rate.

Despite the price and wage freeze between Israeli government, industry and labour, workers will have to pay for the high October inflation rate. Employees will receive a raise of only 13 percent in November's wages rather than the 19.4 percent they would have received if the freeze agreement had not been signed. In that agreement, the Israeli labour federation *Histadrut* agreed to cut workers' cost-of-living compensations by one-third for November and December. Workers used to receive 80 percent of the inflation rate in compensation if it was between 10 and 25 percent and 90 percent if it was above the 25 percent.

According to figures by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, price increases for October were up 50 percent for some goods. Clothing and footwear went up by 47.3 percent while the prices of vegetables, which are not included in the freeze agreement, went up by 30.5 percent.

Israeli press reported last week that the government plans to replace the relatively new shekel with yet another currency called *kikar*. Each *kikar* is equal to IS100. Israel introduced the shekel only four years ago to replace the lira which was devalued by runaway inflation. The *kikar* replaces the shekel for the same reason.

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

UNITY DESPITE ALL ODDS

Despite all efforts to forestall it, the 17th Palestine National Council (PNC) is scheduled to begin meeting in Amman this week. Whether we like it or not, we must deal with the deliberations and decisions which will result.

This extraordinarily controversial session has been the source of bitter disagreement and name-calling between Palestinians in the occupied territories and the diaspora.

While some Palestinians feel that going through with the meeting will be a victory, others staunchly disagree and fear that it will cause a dangerous and irreparable split in the PLO and within the Palestinian people.

Whatever the consequences of the meeting, basic principles and teamwork must not be compromised.

On the one hand the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and an independent state, as well as the right to return, is the minimal acceptable for any solution and must not be compromised.

On the other hand, the continuous need for a united independent Palestinian stand, despite all odds, must be strictly adhered to.

Most observers feel that it would be impossible for the 17th PNC meeting to hold on to both of these two principles. Yet if one could clearly read the feelings of Palestinians everywhere, they would probably find that these two principles can and must be maintained.

No one is saying it will be easy. But if we want to seriously reach an honourable end to this wicked occupation and if we want to remain intact to enjoy national independence, whenever it comes, we are compelled not to compromise either our principles or lose our unity.

The PLO has become the sole representative of the Palestinian people through the popular support that it has been awarded by the Palestinian masses. There cannot be two sole legitimate PLOs and the PLO should have a wide factional base. We in the occupied territories call upon Palestinian leaders who are meeting in Amman as well as those who are refusing to attend not to give up on our coalition of nationalist factions – the PLO – or our inalienable rights.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US$50.00

NAME. . . . . .

ADDRESS. . . . . .

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT . . . . . .

DATE. . . . . .

SIGNED . . . . . .

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

Stephen Green: Camp David's Framework for War

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

Stephen Green, the author of *Taking Sides, America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel*, attracted serious attention of concerned Middle Eastern parties when he published his book. He is again about to attract more attention not only due to his forthcoming second book on the same subject but due to an article to be published November 19 in *World Policy Journal* under the title "Camp David: Has It Become a Framework of War?" In the article, Green argues that high-ranking Egyptian officials believe the Camp David Accords are dead and that Egypt must prepare for war.

Green's conclusion is based on lengthy talks he recently had in Egypt with senior officials of the Mubarak government as well as with former senior officials, including former Foreign Minister Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel, who resigned in protest of Camp David. Kamel is quoted by Green as saying that Egypt "looked forward to peace" with Israel but that "... now it is as it was" before the Camp David agreements were signed. Egypt, Kamel continued, is, in the final analysis, "tied to the Arab world." Butros Ghali, the current minister of state for foreign affairs, also spoke to Green of "the collapse of the peace process," as did others such as Usama al-Baz, advisor to Mubarak, and Abu Ghazalah, the defence minister.

Much of the blame for the failure of Camp David, Egyptian officials believe, should be placed on the United States, the third signatory to the accords, who aided Israel in becoming a regional superpower at the same time that Egypt was freezing its military capabilities at the level of 1979. Israel thus went on assaulting the peace treaty with repeated acts of aggression against Arab states in the region. The Camp David Accords "are seen in a very harsh light" in Cairo now, according to Green. Green was told of the mood of the Egyptian people following the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat, the Egyptian author of Camp David. While Sadat was very popular abroad, Green was told, "nobody was bothered or cared" here when he was killed.

Egyptians, according to Green, understood the Camp David Accords as including a solution to the Palestinian question and Jerusalem, not only dealing with the Egyptian side of the region's conflict. It took Begin only two months in June 1979, however, to convince his cabinet to restart settlement activities on Arab-owned territory, providing Egyptians with a clear indication of Israel's true intentions. These intentions turned into action when Israel, in June 1981, bombed the Iraqi nuclear reactor outside Baghdad with US-made F-15s and F-16s. With the same fighter planes a month later, Israel destroyed apartment buildings in the heart of West Beirut, killing 300 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. Egypt's understanding of the agreement, Green was told, was that the US as the third partner to the accords would prevent Israel from committing such acts against Arab countries. The reality of Israel striking two Arab capitals in a little more than a month didn't set very well with the Arab world, least of all with Egyptians, who felt impotent in their reaction to Israel.

The blows to Egypt's peaceful intentions continued when Sharon signed with Caspar Weinberger, the US secretary of defence, a comprehensive memorandum of understanding on US-Israeli security. A few months later, Israel legally annexed the Golan Heights. US reaction was to postpone the memo of understanding, which was later cancelled by Begin himself. Israel's disregard for Egypt's opinion stirred some opposition to the accords in Egypt from religious groups and even from forces within the National Democratic Party. It also caused embarrassment in their relationship with other Arab countries. In order to pacify these forces, Green writes, Mubarak recalled his ambassador from Tel Aviv after the Sabra and Shatila massacre. American-Israeli relations were not only unaffected by Israeli behaviour but improved with Israel being rewarded rather than chastised. Through this clear American compliance with Israel, the US – "the full partner" to the peace – lost its position of neutrality between Egypt and Israel.

Egyptian fears, Green writes, were realised when in November 1983, the US and Israel agreed on a strategic understanding with a military component "exceed[ing] any similar agreement in US history." Abu Ghazala is quoted by Green as asking, "Against whom or what is the US-Israeli pact directed?" Abu Ghazala wondered about the US belief that the "pact" is directed against a possible Soviet move into the region and added that "no Arab country would ask for the help of their primary enemy, Israel, against a ditant secondary enemy the Soviet Union." on." This American-Israeli understanding entitled Israel to more of the US arsenal and technological know-how, creating, in fact, a wide gap between Israel and Egypt and a wider one between Israel and the rest of the Arab world.

Substitute for Camp David

Egyptian leaders, Green believes, are in the process of going back to the drawing boards of "realpolitik." Those Egyptian officials agree that a deterrent in Arab hands would not only deter future Israeli aggression but would make serious negotiations with Israel more likely. Egyptian officials, Green believes, are thinking of a "countervailing deterrent."

Aware of Egypt's vulnerability, al-Baz warned Green that he "should not assume" that Egypt is not looking to Western Europe, among others, to improve its security. Green said that proof of this Egyptian move to Western Europe also came from a senior US Embassy official in Cairo who "confirmed that for some months, the Egyptians have been seeking ballistic missiles." The American Embassy official told Green that the Egyptians will sooner or later turn to the Soviet Union, however, for what they want: "The Russians," the official said, "have already offered them weapons I wouldn't have refused in their shoes." Such prospective

continued on page 13

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Afif Safieh:

A Scenario Combining Loyalty and Opposition in the PLO

by Afif Safieh

Acceptable Peace

In contemporary Palestinian history, conceptual aggressions often preceded demographic, military or diplomatic ones. In 1917, Balfour's reference to the Muslim and Christian overwhelming majority in Palestine as "the non-Jewish communities" announced the demographic upheaval that was to occur during the following decades.

After 1967 and 1973, new conceptual aggressions were born and propagated by the international media with little Arab or Palestinian reaction to unveil the far from innocent intentions lying behind them. "Legitimate rights" of the Palestinian people meant that the Palestinians had some justified claims which could be satisfied one day and excessive demands that they had to abandon. The term "legitimate" was intended to weaken the concept of "rights," to shrink its extent and applicability. In the same way, the terms "just and lasting peace" invaded the vocabulary of those dealing with Middle Eastern affairs with nobody seriously challenging the validity of the concepts. Even Arab and Palestinian circles were contaminated.

The two-state solution, considered as the most realistic and the least unjust of the possible solutions proposed, is and should have been qualified as "acceptable peace." All other solutions, being beneath the level of Palestinian acceptability, are improbable to remain "lasting and permanent."

Possible Strategies

Convening the Palestine National Council (PNC), which is due to meet soon, is not an aim in itself as some seem to perceive it. Renewing internal legitimacy is one of its objectives. Consolidating the international recognition it has accumulated throughout the years is another. But limiting our aspirations only to that would be a static vision of things. Worse, in the deteriorating climate after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, it would be an undeniable regression. Palestinians legitimately expect the coming PNC to elaborate a strategy to implement its previous and still valid decisions concerning the desirable target of a Palestinian state.

Four strategies towards this end can be contemplated:

A) *Military pressure, as in October 1973, to reactivate the diplomatic front seriously.* Today in 1984, one has to admit that the Arab world has totally squandered the positive accomplishments of the 1973 initiative. Kissinger and his successors have succeeded in separating the three major military partners (Egypt, Syria and the PLO) and in splitting the two components of the Arab world's strategy: military pressure and the oil weapon. In the future, historians will deliberate at length and will certainly differ on determining which was more detrimental to Palestinian and Arab interests: the "separate peace" concluded by Egypt in 1979 or the "separate cease-fire" ratified by Syria in June 1982.

There is no serious Palestinian military option without a credible Arab military option. In the absence of a global Arab strategy, it is suicidal. Yasir Arafat has often, and very correctly, compared the Palestinian fighters to those of Sparta in ancient Greece during the battle of Thermopile. Their objective was to delay the advance of the Persian invading forces until the moment the Greek cities could coalesce, mobilise and advance. And thus it happened. Our Palestinian Spartans fought, and fought bravely, but the Arab states, even those with whom we were committed by "a strategic alliance," never came to the rescue. (Those Palestinian forces who still have privileged relations with the Syrian leaders should try (can they?) to exert pressure in Damascus for a change of policy instead of pushing the PLO to commit "political *hari-kari.*")

Such a strategy necessitates the reintegration of Egypt and the reconciliation of the Arabs around the Fez resolutions. The resort to the "dialogue by arms," in case of Israeli inflexibility, should become a credible possibility and be perceived as such and not only as a rhetorical subterfuge to conceal political and military impotence. Palestinian diplomacy should endeavour hard so that the minimal prerequisites of such a strategy are met.

B) *A radical change from within the Israeli society.* A second strategy would be to encourage the peace forces in Israel, to multiply the contacts and to engage in dialogues on the clear political basis of an "acceptable peace" previously defined. Besides the necessary total mobilisation of the Palestinians in Israel around Rakah, of course, and now the Progressive List, too, the success of this strategy depends on the receptivity of the Jewish majority in Israel and the political courage of the "dovish" wing of its political class. The results of the last Knesset elections tend to demoralise those who believed in such a course of action. The elections were a historical opportunity for Israel to "retaliate peacefully." Yet the Israelis democratically decided not to. Many a "dove" preferred not to defy the dominant popular mood in favour of the explosive *status quo* and kept silent or remained discreet during the whole campaign so as not to endanger the chances of re-election. That was, so it seems, the price they consented to pay to democracy. The stability of Rakah's representation, the emergence of the Mi'ari-Peled list, the choice of Mapam not to join the ruling coalition and Yossi Sarid's "defection" to Aloni's Civil Rights Movement are factors that militate, however, in favour of those who still believe in a possible political shift inspired by Jewish ethics against Israeli policies.

C) *A solution actively stimulated, so as not to say imposed, by the international community.* The international community has already adopted a whole battery of resolutions dealing with all aspects of the conflict, ignoring neither the "facts" imposed by some nor the trespassed-upon "rights" of others. These resolutions stipulate that all the states in the area have to be recognised and to enjoy secure borders; that the Israeli occupation troops should abide by the principle of non-acquisition of territories through military force; that the Palestinian refugees have the right to return to their homes and homeland and the right for compensation; that the Palestinian people have the right to self-determination and sovereign statehood; and that the settlements are simply illegal and not at all irreversible as some would wish. International legality is the only basis on which a viable peace can be achieved.

The strategy of revitalising the role of the United Nations will help surmount the obstacles of Israeli intransigence and Arab impotence. This approach can spare the region and the populations that inhabit it future wars and devastation.

Yet the international accommodationist consensus has been rendered inoperative by two notorious dissident actors: the USA and Israel. The American administration has so far refrained from exerting its "friendly persuasion" on Israel, as many had legitimately expected. On the contrary, it has encouraged Israel's territorial appetite by regularly injecting its economy with money and repeatedly drowning its army with the most sophisticated weaponry.

But on the other hand, Arab pressure on the American administration during a president's second mandate, a return to *detente* politics between the superpowers and an American-Palestinian official and direct dialogue can give birth to a new American policy at last reconciling "power and principles." All these elements, combined with a unified Arab stand, an unfaltering support from the socialist countries, a non-aligned movement and a European community dynamically desirous to contribute to the conflict resolution in an area where all admit to have "vital interests" will inevitably produce the desirable outcome: a Palestinian state. Here too, the challenges inherent in this option are enormous. Are they avoidable?

D) *The combination of the three preceding approaches.* This strategy means the investment of Palestinian potential in the three paths at the same time, all seen as complementary means and not as incompatible alternatives.

The Ideal Coalition

The coming session of the PNC has been difficult to convene. Many questions remain unanswered. Fatah, by itself, represents a very comfortable majority of Palestinian public opinion and within the PNC. Yet its leadership and its sympathisers sincerely hope that the other factions will participate in its deliberations. The Democratic Front, the Popular Front and the Communist Party seem to be subjected to intense pressure from Damascus; the trump card being the threat of splits in any "disobedient" Palestinian movement.

The ideal scenario for a new Executive Committee would be a coalition between Fatah, the Communist Party, the Democratic Front and independents. Occasional demagoguery and systematic external interference put aside, these three factions, either for pragmatic reasons or for ideological considerations, share a similar point of view on problems referring to "war, peace and negotiations." The Popular Front, for very respectable patriotic reasons, disagrees with them. Let us face it: the Palestinian people are not unanimous concerning "the sacrifices and the concessions" needed for the "acceptable peace" and the Popular Front incarnates and activates this legitimate, normal and authentic feeling among many.

A dynamic strategy has to be adopted. In the past, the PLO has been handicapped by the previous facade of unanimity and its paralytic consensus. We need today a clear strategy of confrontation and a clear negotiating strategy. We also need to rehabilitate the noble functions of a respectable opposition. Such an opposition should not be denigrated. Its existence is a necessity and the Popular Front, with its historical prestige, is the adequate channel for the indispensable control, criticism and counter-propositions in any democracy.

With such a scenario, Yasir Arafat will have the loyalists he deserves. With such a scenario, the PLO will have the opposition it needs.

Afif Safieh is a lecturer at the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium and a political advisor to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat.

Health care under Israeli occupation suffers not from a lack of qualified medical personnel but because government-run hospitals are given the most meagre of budgets. The Ramallah government hospital, which serves a quarter of a million people, cannot even keep its floors clean on the maintenance funds thrown its way by Israeli military authorities. **Baher Ashhab** reports on conditions in the hospital.

Ramallah Government Hospital: Insufficient Funds Stunt Health Care

In 1957, the World Health Organisation issued a report defining the role of a hospital in any given society as follows: "The hospital is an integral part of a social and medical organisation, the function of which is to provide for the population complete health care, both curative and preventive, and whose outpatient services reach out to the family and its home environment; the hospital is also a centre for the training of health workers and for bio-social research."

The Ramallah Government Hospital, built under Jordanian rule and now funded and supervised by the Israeli military occupation government in the West Bank, should ideally function as described in the WHO report. The only hospital serving an estimated 220,000 Palestinians, it has long been criticised, however, by the West Bank community for not playing its proper role. The local press often publishes letters from Ramallah area residents alleging unavailability of acceptable health care, poor hygienic conditions and increasing dependence on Israeli Health Services. The problem the hospital faces is how to serve a growing community properly while controlled by the military government which has proven its disinterest in improving health care for Palestinians in the past.

Built in 1961 with funds from an Arab-American charity organisation, the Ramallah Health Foundation, the hospital was rented to the Jordanian government. The Israelis took possession after the 1967 war. It is the largest non-private hospital in the West Bank. According to WHO reports, it is also the best equipped and staffed of the eight government run hospitals in the occupied territories (see box). So where exactly does the problem lie? I set out to discover the answer to this question.

A number of obstacles stood in the way of my investigation into conditions at the hospital. Prominent was the Israeli military order prohibiting government-paid employees from speaking to the media. In August 1978, for example, military authorities discharged Dr. Samir Katbeh from his position as head of pediatrics at Ramallah hospital because he had met with a WHO delegation to discuss hospital conditions. I expected that fear of such measures would inhibit hospital employees' discussions with me.

Surprisingly, I found a number of workers and patients who were willing to speak about the hospital from personal experience. I also interviewed independent health observers, medical practitioners and members of the community concerning their impressions of the hospital and its service. Many patients must therefore be transferred to Israeli hospitals. The staff at Ramallah maintains that occupation authorities are to blame for these deficiencies.

One of the main complaints community members have about the hospital, which serves Ramallah residents as well as the residents of 115 surrounding villages, is that it lacks many services.

Political Obstacles

In a 1978 report entitled *Treatment of Palestinians in Israeli-Occupied West Bank and Gaza*, a delegation of the American National Lawyers Guild wrote after concluding an investigative tour of the area that "Israel's policy with respect to medical institutions in the West Bank has been to encourage the Palestinians to become dependent on medical services from Israel. This is done by (a) inhibiting development of automonous medical institutions (b) failing to improve existing medical services and (c) taking up the slack by offering services in Israel."

According to one of its doctors, more than 10 percent of Ramallah hospital patients are referred to Israeli hospitals annually because of the lack of adequate local facilities. If a patient has insurance, his entire Israeli hospital bill is paid by the West Bank health services. (Those who go to Hadassah Hospital have only two-thirds of their expenses covered by insurance). In this way 15-30 percent of the annual health services budget for the West Bank and Gaza is diverted to subsidize hospitals in Israel. Furthermore, as fees in Israeli hospitals are far higher than in the West Bank, uninsured patients who cannot be treated at Ramallah are often compelled to forego treatment altogether.

One hospital doctor said patients are referred to Israeli hospitals only when treatment at Ramallah Hospital is impossible. Physicians would prefer to see the entire Ramallah budget used to improve existing services at the hospital so that transfer would not be necessary. The doctor argued that the percentage of the budget lost to Israeli hospitals since 1967 would purchase new medical equipment which could make the Ramallah hospital self-sufficient.

The overall health services budget allocated to the West Bank by the military administration is inadequate for a population of 900,000, says Dr Issa Ziadeh, a member of the West Bank Physicians Union. He cited the latest figures which put the annual health budget at US$6 million. This pays the operating budgets of all existing government hospitals in the occupied territories with a total of 950 beds, as well as the medical insurance programme for an estimated 30 percent of the population. In comparison, Ziadeh pointed out, the newly-built Sha'are Tzedek Hospital in West Jerusalem with only 230 beds has at its disposal US$10 million annually.

According to one official, Ramallah Hospital has an 85 percent patient occupancy rate, the highest of any government hospital in the West Bank. Its minimal budget is clearly detrimental to the level of health care. According to a report compiled by the Physicians Union in 1978, medical services in Ramallah Hospital and in the West Bank in general have not improved since 1967. In fact when compared to health care standards in Jordan and other Arab countries, the report found that the services here have actually declined. The report states: "The medical services which are supposed to develop and improve as was the case before the occupation have in fact been stagnant and the citizens of the West Bank have been deprived of such medical progress."

The report also indicated that the "medical progress in the Arab world during the last 10 years is considered fast as many modern and well-equipped hospitals have been established and adequate medical services appeared. A medical school was started in the East Bank of Jordan..." but "the difference in development on the West Bank between 1958-1968 and 1968-1978 would indicate a clear contrast between improvement formerly and stagnancy later."

Several doctors agreed that lack of improvement in health services is not accidental but is rather related to Israeli occupation plans to promote a feeling among the Palestinian population of dependence on the occupier. "By keeping Palestinians dependent on Israeli medical services," one Ramallah doctor argued, "the Israeli authorities create a sense of psychological acceptance and attachment to their colonisation of the territories among the local populace, especially among people who are oblivious to the reasons behind the deterioration of medical services at home. They become resentful of their own institutions and appreciative of Israel's for saving their lives."

The funding problems and Israeli policies have led to serious deficiencies in hospital equipment and care. Despite the large population served by Ramallah's hospital, it lacks — as do all other government hospitals in the occupied territories — an intensive care unit, a coronary care unit and equipment for neurosurgery and cancer treatment. All patients requiring such treatment must seek out Israeli hospitals.

Given the lack of Israeli support for the hospital, the Ramallah Health Foundation and private donors have tried to improve its facilities on their own. The foundation donated funds for a new third floor and the emergency and outpatient sections. The surgery wing was moved to the third floor. The foundation also paid for a new laboratory with a blood bank and equipment for blood and other analyses.

A large section of the surgery wing never opened because Israeli authorities refused to hire more nurses to staff it.

A rusted tub, a toilet with no seat and filthy bathroom floors and walls show the sanitation problem at the Ramallah government hospital/BA photo

Ramallah Government Hospital

Beds	124	Staff	164
Surgery	38	Specialists	15
Int. medicine	28	Residents	8
Gynaecology and Obstetrics	24	Technicians	22
Pediatrics	30	Nurses	71
Kidney	4	Administrative and Service Personnel	49

Inadequate Facilities

In addition, the hospital does not have facilities even for basic emergency mobile care. Its ambulance is a van equipped with a mattress and an oxygen cylinder. One hospital employee said that most people do not know of its availability, thus it stands idle most of the time. He argued, "People are better off going by taxi since the ambulance cannot provide preliminary treatment anyway."

The in-hospital emergency section is also inadequate, said one doctor. It even lacks equipment to sterilise instruments. He warned that people suffering from serious injuries, such as burns over 50 percent or more of their bodies, cannot be treated properly in the emergency section due to lack of medical supplies and equipment. Two patients have died in the last 3 months from burns over 50 percent because the hospital was unable to treat them, he said.

Another doctor complained that "Our hospital lacks much of the medical equipment that is often considered basic by Western health standards." He continued, "We send tens of official requests to Israeli authorities every year. We tell them that we need to purchase new equipment, or we need to update and upgrade our current equipment. But they flatly say that they don't have sufficient funds, a ludicrous excuse when

continued on page 15

Israeli Atmosphere Supports Acts of Anti-Arab Terrorism

Shuki Ben Ami of the Hebrew daily *Al Hamishmar* traces the roots and recent blossoming of Jewish terrorist movements in Israel. He concludes that the Israeli public is becoming dangerously intoxicated with anti-Arab sentiment, providing fertile soil for future attacks and covert organisations. This is the first in a series which will be continued next week.

Over the past few years, Jewish terrorism has become part of our everyday experience. The TNT (Terror Against Terror) gang, the Lifta group, "*Keshet*," Yona Avrashumi, Yoel Lerner and others are no longer front-page news. Kahane — an out and out terrorist — is now a member of Knesset; he was legally elected by 26,000 voters. Other terrorists who operated on their own or in cells in the recent or more distant past now hold official positions in the social and political establishment.

As 1984 draws to a close it seems that the Israeli public no longer gets worked up over terrorist acts carried out by Jews. In fact, the opposite is the case; a large sector of the population sympathises with the terrorists. Government ministers and MKs do not conceal their sympathy for them and a few have even come out openly in their support.

Over the past four years, Jewish lawbreakers have perpetrated a number of terrorist acts. Three weeks ago Jewish terrorism gave yet another sign of life when a LAW anti-tank missile was fired on an Arab bus in the heart of Jerusalem leaving a bloody trail of horror and destruction in its wake: one dead and

Sapper displays a hand grenade discovered on Mt Zion. TNT claimed responsibility by telephone for the unsuccessful attack.

11 injured. It appears that the weed which took root in Israeli society when the Likud came to power has continued to grow.

Law-Breaking History

There is no such thing as Jewish terrorism — or so one may conclude after perusing the encyclopedias and lexicons published in Israel over the past few years. Terrorism is an exclusively Arab phenomenon. Take, for instance, the *Israel Defence Lexicon*, compiled by Eitan Haber and Ze'ev Schiff. The authors define terrorism as "one of the methods of combat employed by the Arabs in their campaign against Jewish existence in Israel; it preceded the establishment of the state and since then has become part of the Arab strategy against Israel. Terrorism has always entailed the indiscriminate massacre of unarmed civilians. The only aspect that has changed over the years is the means and weapons employed by the terrorists. For the most past, the Arabs resorted to terrorism when they were unable or unwilling to face the Jews in open combat." The authors go on to list all the terrorist acts carried out by the Arabs — from the 1929 Hebron massacre to the bomb attack in Zion Square in 1976.

But Jewish terrorism is not mentioned. Other books are no different in this regard, in spite of the fact that Israeli citizens have been taking the law into their own hands in order to carry out terrorist attacks for as long as the state has been in existence. Acting alone or in cells, these men have blazed a trail in the annals of the state. Their ideological motivations, objectives and tactics may have differed but the common denominator between them is their willingness to take the law into their own hands in order to attack and endanger innocent people.

Jewish terrorism put down its roots during the years of the Likud's reign. A Jewish underground was uncovered in mid-1978. Calling itself "*Gal*" (the Hebrew acronym for "the redemption of Israel), it sought among other things to "liberate" the Temple Mount (al-Aqsa compound). The underground was led by Yoel Lerner, a teacher and Jewish Defence League activist. Armand Ezran — a second lieutenant in the tank corps — was second in command; he had been one of Lerner's pupils prior to his induction into the army. The eight other members of the underground were recruited from *yeshivot* and high schools. Lerner was a well-known figure, having been arrested more than once. He was known to be an extremist and was in fact held in administrative detention following the 1973 war when his plan of attacking the US secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, came to light.

Lerner's underground operated in accordance with the 'spirit of the Torah'; each member had a membership card and a code name. Lerner was Eliyahu, Ezran was Lish and Monk was called Kfir. Lerner was also referred to as "the Teacher."

Cushioned Treatment

The underground was composed of four cells, each of which had an assigned task. Ezran was supposed to steal explosives from the army. The other cells carried out surveillance work and trained in karate. Lerner's underground was uncovered by the security forces after the sister of one of the members (who was only 16 years old) went to the police to lodge a complaint. Lerner was arrested in July 1982 on suspicion of planning to attack the mosques on the Temple Mount. At first he was held in administrative detention and later sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison. Most of his prison term was spent in a police lockup where he enjoyed special privileges in reward for having served as a state's witness in the trial of a Jerusalem underworld gang. Today, police investigators smile when they recall Lerner's underground. It seems ridiculously infantile in comparison to the undergrounds and other extremist groups which have been exposed over the past few years.

Lerner was an important figure in Kach. At the time, Kach had a monopoly on Jewish terrorism. The number two man in the organisation, Yossi Dayan, a Kiryat Arba resident, was arrested in May 1980 on suspicion of murdering an Arab taxi driver. Alan Goodman — the American lunatic who burst into the Temple Mount complex and gunned down innocent worshippers — also had connections with Kach; in fact, Kach financed his legal defence. Meir Kahane was also arrested at the end of 1980 and placed in administrative custody after it became known that he intended to attack the mosques on the Temple Mount.

Terrorists Developed Sophistication

In the years that followed, Jewish terrorism became more widespread and dangerous. Operations were planned in detail and executed by a number of different underground cells and organisations. They were directed against the Arab population, with the exception of the grenade attack on a group of Peace Now demonstrators which took place in Jerusalem on February 10, 1983. Emil Greenzweig — a Peace Now activist — died as a result of the blast and 11 other demonstrators were wounded (one of those injured was Avraham Burg, the son of the minister of the interior and police at the time, Yosef Burg). Yona Avrushmi was later arrested as a suspect. Avrushmi, a small-time criminal who lived on the margins of the Jerusalem underworld, acquired the grenade from another criminal, one Amos Shanglof, who later became an undercover police informant. The grenade was stolen from an Israeli army base by David Shemtov, who was later brought before a military court on a charge of arms trafficking. During the period prior to his arrest, Avrushmi was employed as a welder in the Ofra settlement. His hatred of leftists and the Peace Now movement led him to throw the grenade. Avrushmi's trial is not over but has proven to everyone that Jewish terrorism does not stop at the 'green line' (Israel's pre-1967 border). Venomous denunciations of "leftist defeatists" appeared in a different light after the Israeli public saw what it meant in practice.

The grenade which took Emil Greenzweig's life was thrown at the height of a public debate over whether there was a right-wing underground operating in the West Bank. Government leaders at the time, including the prime minister and the minister of interior and police, flatly denied that there was or ever had been a Jewish underground in the occupied territories. MK Yossi Sarid unravelled a long list of terrorist acts which he attributed to such a group and went on to claim that central figures in the Israeli political establishment knew of its existence. Likud spokespersons denounced his allegations and a top political figure even said that the underground was a figment of Sarid's imagination. However, Sarid persisted in his allegations and told the Knesset that there was more than one underground But his warnings fell on deaf ears.

Obvious Since 1980

The controversy surrounding the existence of a Jewish underground was precipitated by the events of the night between the first and second of June 1980. Explosive devices were planted in the homes of four members of the National Guidance Committee in the occupied territories. Bassam Shaka'a, the mayor of Nablus, and Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah, were wounded by bombs which were detonated when they started their cars in the morning. The saboteurs were disturbed in their attempt to plant a bomb at the home of Dr Ahmad Hamzeh Natshe. The mayor of al-Bireh, Ibrahim Tawil, left his home after the two other blasts and was thus informed about what had happened before he reached his car. A police sapper by the name of Suleiman Hirbawi, who arrived on the scene in order to defuse the bomb (which was attached to the door of the garage), was severely wounded and lost his eyesight in the course of carrying out his work. It later emerged that the underground had also wanted to plant a bomb in Ibrahim Dakkak's home in the Wadi Joz neighbourhood in East Jerusalem. The attacks were carried out in retaliation for the murders at Beit Hadassah in Hebron.

> "Israeli citizens have been taking the law into their own hands in order to carry out terrorist attacks for as long as the state has been in existence."

The means employed left no doubt that the group was well-trained and had planned the operation in detail. The fact that it was not a single incident but rather a coordinated campaign was incontrovertible evidence that there was a Jewish underground operating in the West Bank. But the government of Israel continued to deny the existence of the underground.

During the night between April 26 and 27, 1984 explosive charges were attached to five Arab buses parked beside the homes of their drivers. The buses, which belong to the Jerusalem-based Kalandia Bus Company, were to transport workers, hikers and even a German tourist group. The explosives were set to go off at 4:00 pm, Friday, April 27, 1984. That same night, the Jewish underground was finally exposed.

In the days that followed, the daily press ran front-page stories about the events leading up to the arrest of the members of the underground and the charges against them. At first, a court order forbade the publication of their names but as soon as the order was rescinded, the Israeli public was shocked to learn that leading settlement activists, many of whom were close to the leaders of Gush Emunim, were involved in the affairs. Moreover, the underground included top army officers, people in senior positions in the local administration (of the West Bank) and the family members of public figures and members of Knesset.

Terrorism Moves To The Centre

The investigation revolved around the prior knowledge of various figures in the government and even MKs regarding the activities of the underground. The detainees themselves received special privileges and the first sessions of their trial resembled a family get-together more than a criminal hearing. The man in the street covertly or overtly supported the detainees and/or the acts they had committed. After the settlers on the West Bank had recovered from their initial shock, they rallied to set up a fund to aid the prisoners' families; they also sought donations both in Israel and abroad to finance the battery of defence lawyers, among whom were some of Israel's top attorneys. Many MKs and other public figures made pilgrimages to the Tel Monde Prison where the members of the underground were interned. Only a short while ago, a well-attended religious celebration was held in the Hebron market, organised in support of the detainees. This did not prevent the minister of trade and industry, Ariel Sharon, from taking part in the celebrations. He even expressed his hope that next year they would be held in Nablus.

After the underground was exposed, it transpired that one of its most important projects was a plan to blow up the mosques on the Temple Mount. According to Yehuda Etzion, one of the members of the underground, "such an act would initiate the process of Redemption." The *Bnei Yehuda* (Sons of Judah) group was motivated by a similar ideology. Basically a cult composed of crackpots living in Lifta, the *Bnei Yehuda* group also planned to attack the Temple Mount.

Unconnected Undergrounds

Three members of the cult — Shimon Barda, Uzi Mahasia Ha'alion and Yehuda Limai — were discovered on the Temple Mount one cold and rainy night last year by a *waqf* guard. They left a trail behind them which led the police to their doorstep. But the police realised that the Lifta group was not the Jewish underground. The former was relatively unsophisticated and amateurish in comparison to the latter. Police inspectors concluded that there must have been two entirely unconnected underground groups operating in the area. The cult members were apprehended only a short time before the members of the Jewish underground were arrested.

The cult members had been living in the abandoned [evacuated -ed.] Arab village of Lifta on the outskirts of Jerusalem. They wore white robes and made a point of keeping their eyes on the sun as they walked about. Their beliefs owed something to Jewish messianic thought, according to which the Messiah and the Redemption could be hastened by rooting out impurity. One of the cult members, Barda, was a known criminal and the police had information that he had of late been stockpiling arms and combat equipment. The incompetence of the police's handling of the case resulted in the "Hefezt Affair," which led to the suspension of the chief of the Tel Aviv police department for leaking secret information to the press.

The members of the Lifta cult were sent for psychiatric observation and quickly forgotten. Who knows whether the crackpot notions of the cult members, now confined in psychiatric hospitals, fired the imagination of the members of the Jewish underground and led them to plot an attack on the Temple Mount or whether they claimed earlier antecedents? Both groups seemed to share a common fixation, or even madness.

The crackpot *Bnei Yehuda* underground was found to be in possession of a good deal of arms and munitions. But, as mentioned above, the members of the cult were quickly forgotten; the man in the street likes heroes but madmen have no claim on his sympathy. And indeed, not long after the Lifta group had been exposed, public attention was preoccupied with the facts coming to light about the 'real' underground.

American Cowboys

On the same December day that the Lifta group was arrested another terror gang was exposed. It was composed of four young American members of the Kach movement who had attacked an Arab bus the day before. The bus, which was carrying workers to the village of Mazra'a Sharqiya, was attacked in revenge for the bomb placed on a number 18 bus in Jerusalem in which six people died and over 60 were wounded. The Kach men took the law into their own hands and, equipped with M-16 machine guns, laid in wait for an Arab bus. When one approached, they opened fire. They had committed other violent acts prior to the bus attack; they had smashed the windows of parked cars in East Jerusalem and fire-bombed a house in Anabta. They were arrested the day after the shooting in the Jerusalem neighbourhood of Kiryat Mattesdorf.

The next day the newspapers announced the capture of the TNT gang. The four members of Kach and the crackpots from Lifta had been arrested and the papers were sure that at least one of the two groups must be the notorious TNT which had given many Christian and Muslim clergymen restless nights. But during preliminary investigations it became apparent that both groups had nothing to do with TNT. Furthermore, the investigators were convinced that neither group was responsible for the terrorist attacks on the West Bank. The press had simply jumped the gun. The police were sure that the 'two heavies' — TNT and the underground operation in the territories — were still at large.

The file on the Jewish underground continued to get thicker and thicker; the security forces collected a wealth of information which they filed under "*Yakinaton*" (Hyacinth). It became clear to the General Security Service that the undergrounds that had been apprehended were untrained amateurs compared to the underground they were looking for. They were unsure whether the underground was centralised or whether it was composed of small cells which operated independently of each other like the Red Brigades in Italy.

> "The cult members... wore white robes and made a point of keeping their eyes on the sun as they walked about... They thought the Messiah and Redemption could be hastened by rooting out impurity."

Churches And Mosques Targeted

Terrorist activity reached its height in the last months of 1983. During a period of a month and a half the entrances of a number of monasteries, churches and mosques throughout Jerusalem were booby-trapped. The terrorists focused on Mount Zion; in a brief period, a number of churches and monasteries there were booby-trapped with transparent nylon cords that were attached to Israeli army grenades. Miraculously, no one was injured; the grenades were discovered and defused before they exploded. But the attacks on Mount Zion quickly spread to the monasteries and churches of Ain Kerem, a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Jerusalem.

The six Arab buses booby-trapped with 50 kilograms of explosives and set to go off in East Jerusalem after Friday prayers. An anonymous phone call led to their discovery and the belated unveiling of a much hinted-at Jewish terrorist underground.

In addition to the booby-traps there was an arson attempt on the Russian Church in Ain Kerem. Police investigators who combed the area concluded that there was no connection between the attacks on the Christian holy places and the torching of the Baptist Church two years before. Every time a church was booby-trapped, the police and the army radio station received anonymous calls from persons who claimed responsibility for the attacks on behalf of the TNT underground.

As the affair reached a climax, mosques in Beit Safafa and Azariya were also booby-trapped. These charges were not discovered in time and, as a result, several people were injured. The TNT gang provoked a good deal of public embarrassment; it seemed as though the police force was incapable of solving the rash of terrorist attacks. The police believed that there were a few groups operating in the area, each of which employed different methods. A few months later, a former criminal turned undercover police agent led the police to the Dra'i famiy and their friends. The case of the TNT was solved at long last.

The Dra'i family had once been one of the pillars of the Jerusalem underworld. They found religion, 'repented' and became religious fanatics. Like the Lifta group, they believed that by rooting out impurity, they could hasten the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven and the Redemption. Family members frequently walked around their neighbourhood wearing red religious tassles and embroidered skullcaps. They were charged, pleaded guilty and were put behind bars. At the beginning of 1984 a grenade was thrown at the home of the parents of the police informer who had provided the information which

continued on page 13

THE QUESTION OF JERUSALEM

We continue this week Henry Cattan's paper on the status of Jerusalem presented in Oslo April 2-4, 1984.

Western Wall, early 20th century. The wall and the pavement in front of it where the Jews pray is Muslim *waqf* property. In 1967 the Israeli minister for religious affairs declared the entire *Haram al-Sharif* area Israeli property "by past acquisition or by conquest."

Perils To The Holy Places

Before discussing the question of perils to the Holy Places, it is important to make a clarification. Zionist propagandists have spread the belief that Jerusalem belongs to the state of Israel for historical and religious reasons. We have seen that the historical argument is devoid of any basis and was invoked only to justify a political exhumation of a Jewish state which became extinct in 587 BC.

As to the religious argument, one fails to see that there exists any predominance in religious significance in favour of Judaism in regard to Jerusalem. The religious stake of Christians, Muslims and Jews in Jerusalem was already discussed in considering the religious significance of the Holy City. While all three communities have a strong spiritual attachment to the Holy City, only Christians and Muslims possess physically and own a number of Holy Places in Jerusalem. The Jews do not possess or own any Holy Place in the city. The Wailing Wall itself is a Muslim *waqf* (religious endowment) at which the Jews have traditionally prayed.

The absence of any Jewish claim to a Holy Place in Jerusalem is recognised by no less a Zionist than Chaim Weizmann, the author of the Balfour Declaration and the founder of the state of Israel. Referring to his discussions with Italian statesmen in 1921 concerning Zionism, he writes in his autobiography as follows:

"But the question I had come to ask: What exactly was the reason for Italian and Vatican opposition to Zionism? remained unanswered. Nor could I discover to my own satisfaction why the purely religious issue of the Holy Places should arouse so much interest in Italian political circles — and in French ones, too. There were no Holy Places in Palestine to which the Jews laid actual physical claim — except, perhaps, Rachel's tomb, which was at no time a matter of controversy. The Wailing Wall we did not own and never had owned since the destruction of the Temple..."

In fact, following the bloody riots that erupted in 1929 by reason of an incident over the Wailing Wall and which led to the killing of several hundred Arabs and Jews, the British government appointed an international commission, with the approval of the League of Nations, to determine the rights and claims of Muslims and Jews in connection with the Wailing Wall. The commission, which was composed of three jurists from Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands, concluded after investigation that "the ownership of the Wall accrues to the Muslims... and that the pavement in front of the Wall, where the Jews perform their devotions, is also Muslim property."

Israel's statesmen, however, do not apparently share Weizmann's view. Intoxicated by their capture of the Old City in 1967, some prominent officials of the Israeli government caused world concern by asserting claims against Islamic Holy Places in Jerusalem and Hebron. Ambassador E. Thalmann of Switzerland, charged by the secretary-general of the UN with a fact-finding mission on the situation in Jerusalem, reported: "Statements by Israeli official representatives and Jewish personalities concerning Jewish claims and plans in the temple area had an alarming effect."

The Israeli minister for religious affairs was reported to have declared at a press conference in Jerusalem on August 12, 1967 that the authorities considered the site of the Mosque of the Dome of Rock their property "by past acquisition or by conquest" and that there was question of rebuilding the Témple of Solomon in the area of the *Haram al-Sharif*. He is also reported to have said: "As to the Holy Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron, the Cave is a Jewish shrine which we have bought, in the same way that we bought the Holy Rock in the days of David and the Jebusites, and our rights in the Cave and the Rock are rights of conquest and acquisition."

The matter did not rest at ominous threats but soon evolved into provocative acts. Ambassador Thalmann reported: "Most of the Arabs interviewed by the personal representative stated that the Muslim population was shocked by Israeli acts which violated the sanctity of the Muslim shrines. It was regarded as a particular provocation that the chief rabbi of the Israeli army, with others of his faith, conducted prayers in the area of the *Haram al-Sharif*. [The Israeli government has in the meantime put a stop to the offering of further prayers by members of the Jewish faith in the area of the Holy Mosque.]"

Despite the ban, however, the example set by the chief rabbi of the army was followed in 1975 by some 40 youths who celebrated the anniversary of Israel's independence by holding a religious service and singing Hebrew songs in the area of the *Haram al-Sharif*. Charged with a violation of the ban, the accused were acquitted by the magistrate who held the Jews had a right to pray on the Temple Mount. A higher court left the decision on the right of Jews to pray there in the hands of the minister of religion. The ban, however, has continued, though it has not prevented fights between nationalists and religious Jews over the holding of religious services in the area of the *Haram al-Sharif*.

Another outrage which shocked world opinion and was strongly condemned by the Security Council was the arson committed on August 21, 1969 at the Mosque of al-Aqsa. Extensive damage was caused to the roof of this shrine and an historic 12th century carved wooden puplit was gutted by the fire. Although the Israeli authorities arrested and tried the culprit — an Australian — and later deported him as mentally deranged, Islamic world opinion considered Israel's occupation of Jerusalem and its Holy Places and the campaign conducted in certain Jewish circles for the restoration of Solomon's Temple on the site of the *Haram al-Sharif* to have inspired and largely contributed to this grave act of vandalism. In fact, the culprit is reported to have told the Israeli authorities that his purpose was to burn the Mosque of al-Aqsa so that the Temple of Solomon could be built on its site.

Christian Holy Places also were not spared and there have been desecrations of shrines, religious property and cemeteries on Mount Zion. The Tombs of the Patriarchs in the courtyard of the Armenian Church of St. Saviour were broken into and their bones scattered about.

Israeli authorities also attempted to interfere with the exercise of religious rights and practices by Muslims and Christians. Thus they sought to assume jurisdiction over Muslim religious courts. They also sought to censor religious preaching on Fridays in the mosques. Similarly, they attempted to prevent access by Christians to the Cenacle (the Upper Room) on Saturdays, the day of the Jewish Sabbath. (A *yeshiva* school for religious Jewish youth is now held on the first floor of the Cenacle building.) These interferences with religious rights and practices met with the opposition of the communities concerned and were abandoned by Israeli authorities.

Equally offensive was the disrespect shown by some Israelis to the Holy Places of the two other communities. Richard Pfaff writes in a UN observer report: "The Christian Arab complained that reports of smoking, loud talk, improper dress and dogs in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were not compatible with the sacred character of the site; and the Muslim Arabs complained that mini-skirts, embraces between the sexes and holding a fashion show against the background of al-Aqsa Mosque were not in keeping with the character of the Holy Places."

Christian clergymen were harassed and church property in Jerusalem was vandalised in a series of attacks on Baptists, Roman Catholics and Russian Orthodox. "It is a Jewish obligation to destroy graven images. The Christians have no place in Jerusalem, which is the Jewish capital," declared one of those detained for vandalism at Christian sites.

During the last few years, attacks aimed at the two historic Islamic mosques in Jerusalem have increased and gained in gravity. A disaster of incalculable consequences was averted in 1980 with the arrest in the Old City of two Israeli soldiers in possession of a large quantity of explosives. The culprits were charged by the authorities with the intention of blowing up churches and mosques in Jerusalem, but to avoid damaging publicity the charge was withdrawn.

On April 11, 1982 an Israeli soldier shot his way into the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock and sprayed the worshippers, killing two and wounding nine. Alerted in advance, the Israeli police thwarted on March 10, 1983 a well-organised attempt by Orthodox and nationalistic Jews to establish a settlement on the Temple Mount.

On January 27, 1984 an attempt

continued on page 15

Firqat al-Funun al-Sha'abiyeh:

Folklore Troupe Helps Preserve Palestinian Culture

by Sami Aboudi

Members of *Firqat al-Funun* perform *Wadi al-Tuffah* folkloric presentation during the Bir Zeit Nights Festival.

During a two-hour performance at *El-Hakawati* Theatre in Jerusalem October 14 the Ramallah-based *Firqat al-Funun al-Sha'abiyeh* (The Popular Folklore Troupe) proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the popularity of this troupe, which has won a number of prizes in local contests, is well deserved. Throughout the evening's song and dance, more than 200 people applauded and sang along, cheering loudly at the end of every number. What is it about this folklore troupe which makes its performances so well received?

The five-year-old *Firqat al-Funun* considers itself a troupe with a unique vision of the importance of folklore in today's scene. They pride themselves in pioneering the retrieval of forgotten songs and see their role in the Palestinian cultural movement as "developing folklore to make it relevant to current issues to contribute to the Palestinian people's struggle for independence," as one troupe member put it. They have been very innovative in updating many of the older songs to make them fit today's struggle and yet maintaining their uniquely Palestinian flavour.

Firqat al-Funun, the largest of West Bank and Gaza folklore troupes, has a regular staff of 49 singers, dancers and musicians. They are also training a group of 24 children in order "to establish a continuity for our work in the future," said the troupe's cultural director. The large number of staff is advantageous for the troupe. Members say they are able to present longer shows with a greater variety of dance styles. They are able to dance mixed *dabkeh* (traditional Palestinian dance) as well as numbers separating men and women.

The majority of troupe members are university students from all parts of the occupied territories. A few labourers and farmers are in the troupe, giving it a broader perspective.

For troupe members, dancing and singing in the group is primarily a hobby. They come together once a week to rehearse, discuss issues relating to the troupe and plan future shows. Scripts for the shows are prepared jointly by all members. "We sit down in a meeting and discuss suggestions from members for the show," the troupe director told *Al Fajr*.

The troupe is supported by dues collected from every member. They also accept unconditional contributions from the public. All donations and dues go towards paying for the elaborate costumes for troupe members, at a cost of JD1200.

Senior members of the troupe, some of whom are veteran actors and singers from other *dabkeh* and theatre groups like *Dababis*, supervise the troupe's performances. None have studied theatre or music professionally but rely instead on past experience and on a few folklore books when needed. Despite the group's lack of professional training, they have won three prizes in three major performances during their five years of existence.

Troupe History

Firqat al-Funun was founded by eight young men from Ramallah early in 1979. This group of friends, all with particular dancing and singing talents, decided to form the troupe which would then be dedicated to reviving Palestinian folklore. The troupe's first public appearance was in a Bir Zeit University festival on the occasion of International Women's Day on March 9, 1979. The troupe performed a selection of folkloric songs and *dabkeh* dancing, hence setting its future course.

Between 1979 and 1981, when the troupe won its first prize in a general folklore contest, the troupe almost doubled in number. During that period, *Firqat al-Funun* could not afford to rent a place for rehearsal. Instead, they were compelled to use an unfinished house, belonging to one of the troupe members. "Dust from the unpaved floor used to fill the air and make it hard to breathe," Mohammed, one *dabkeh* dancer recalled. Despite this, the troupe won first prize in the first Bir Zeit University *dabkeh* competition, in 1981.

From then on the troupe adopted a new direction which later became one of its main characteristics: the research and collection of folklore songs from their original Palestinian source. In an article written and published by the troupe last August in a pamphlet entitled *Jafra*, a troupe member explained that they go to various West Bank villages, each member in his own district, collecting original songs from elderly villagers. They currently have hundreds of original Palestinian works in their archives representing traditional songs sung for weddings, harvests, new buildings, national days and funerals.

The excellent performance by *Firqat al-Funun* in the 1981 festival encouraged many concerned groups to offer their assistance. The Bir Zeit University Activities Office offered support as well as the Ramallah Boy Scouts Troupe, who invited them to rehearse in their headquarters until 1983.

Their hard work in the two years following the first contest again proved rewarding. The group, which then numbered 22 members, again won first place in the Popular *Dabkeh* Festival held at Bir Zeit University campus in 1983. *Firqat al Funun's* latest work — *Wadi al-Tuffah* (Apple Valley) — won first place again at the first annual Bir Zeit Nights Festival organised by the University last August.

The troupe's performance of *Wadi al-Tuffah* at the Bir Zeit festival and *El-Hakawati* Theatre October 14 represents a qualitative change in the troupe's understanding of folklore, the troupe's cultural director told *Al Fajr*. "At this stage we began linking the original folklore with the present," he said. "We felt that Palestinian folklore is very rich and could contribute to the development of Palestinian culture in a manner which would enhance our response to the Palestinian problem," he added. *Al Fajr* was told that the troupe updates the older songs to suit current political realities. For example, *Ya Zarif al-Toul*, a song from Palestinian folklore about emigration, was modified from a slow, sad melody to a tune of rebellion against desperation. Another song often associated with martyrs — *Talat al-Baroudeh* (The Gun Appears) — was altered from a sad tune to a melodious march full of pride and honour.

Troupe members say these traditional songs were sung in the past to suit a particular village occasion. Today, they say, we need to preserve these songs but are concerned that they be given a more modern meaning which serves our struggle.

Performance Describes Palestinian Plight

Wadi al-Tuffah, from which the play is named, is a valley near Nablus where a famous battle between Palestinian rebels and the British mandate army took place in 1939. The place has since come to symbolise in folklore the whole of Palestine. The troupe's folkloric presentation reflects through the songs and *dabkeh* the now universally-known plight of the Palestinian people.

Wadi al-Tuffah, which was presented in the towns and villages of Bir Zeit, Beit Sahour, Taibeh, Um al-Fahm and Jerusalem, among others, is a three-part performance reflecting three historical stages of Palestinian life. The first stage represents the beginnings of the 20th century when Palestinians lived in relative agrarian peace. The second part highlights the era of colonisation with the misery of confrontation, emigration and death. The third section represents a Palestinian revival and awakening, leading to a revolutionary spirit aimed at ridding Palestine of the colonising power.

The folkloric presentation requires no particular setting or stage decor. The Palestinian national costumes — embroidered dresses for women and *kafiyya* (Arab headdress) for men — that singers and dancers wear are enough to indicate the play's origin.

Troupe members say their presentation is not a play because it contains no particular dialogue between actors. It is, rather, a "folkloric presentation" of songs and dancing with a specific theme. The troupe asked one Ramallah author to submit a script with dialogue but he did not do so. Instead, one member of the troupe wrote the narration read by a group member.

The narrator plays an important role in forging the various scenes in the script together. He introduces the presentation poetically, using familiar Palestinian metaphors. He refers to the women of *Wadi al-Tuffah* as the "Canaanites of Palestine," a reference to the Palestinian people's long heritage in this land. The narrator fills in the gaps in the story line which songs and dancing fail to explain, making the presentation run more smoothly.

In the opening scene, the narrator explains the harmonious life of the village men and women where villagers tend to their farms and daily affairs. Women fill water jars from the village spring while men plough the fields. This scene is accompanied by dancing and singing which suit the scene, giving the audience the peaceful feeling of a traditional village. This happy atmosphere is also reflected in wedding between 'Mohammed and Fatmeh.' They symbolise every male and female villager, each going on with a traditional life. The show's producer does not distinguish Mohammed or Fatmeh from the rest of the actors in order to enhance the symbolism of the bride and bridegroom.

The presentation then takes the audience into the era of colonisation, between the 1920s and late 1930s. Again the narrator informs the audience of an enemy attack. The enemy "steps on the fields, burns the crop and destroys the valley," he says. The songs in this section reflect the fragmentation in the valley. Works with mournful, desperate melodies like *Zarif al-Toul* predominate. Valley residents rush to confront the enemy. In the course of the battle, Mohammed is killed and is "wedded to the land," now united with Fatmeh.

The performance then moves into the third part, the era of confrontation and revolutionary defence of the valley. The producer takes the audience into the modern atmosphere of Palestinian revolution with proud song stressing the Palestinian identity of the valley residents, a song which was sung after the *Wadi al-Tuffah* battle in 1939.

The presentation concludes with a popular number showing the fields made joyful again in their new revolutionary fervour. The performance ends in the hope of a coming day for Palestine where folklore can be preserved for cultural reasons and not needed to wage a symbolic battle against the colonising power.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Since the call by Fath to hold the PNC in Amman on November 22 the Palestinian press have devoted their pages to printing reactions of personalities and institutions in the occupied territories.

Both **Al Fajr** and **Al Mithaq** dailies led the press campaign with daily reports of rallies and interviews with supporters or opponents of the Amman meetings. Ads listing names of personalities or groupings who either supported or opposed were published on a continuous basis.

Al Sha'ab, which like **Al Fajr** supported the meetings, ran a more subtle campaign and **Al Quds** stayed on the sidelines of the intra-PLO conflict.

Patriotism

The primary slogan emanating from the occupied territories has always focussed on two words: national unity. On every occasion and in every conference or meeting, the slogan has always been national unity. What has happened then? Why is this slogan buried among condemnation slogans on one hand and supportive slogans on the other? Has the PNC meeting — whether it is convened or not — become a major cause for splitting the ***Palestinians under occupation?*** What is it that separates one person from another or one group from another group under occupation? Do their ideas and ideologies protect them from what is being planned against them by those who do not want this people to stand on its own feet? Do these schemes differentiate between one person or another? No.

We, under occupation, are all targeted. We see with our own eyes how *de facto* policy is being applied daily. Likewise we have witnessed the features of Jerusalem change completely so that it no longer resembles what it was on the eve of June 5, 1967.

History judges patriots by one criterion. Patriotism is measured by what one offers to one's country and society. When writers are free, they are patriots. When teachers give their best to students, they are patriots. When merchants honestly deal with citizens, they are patriots. When farmers take good care of the land, they are patriots. Patriotism is not something inherited or acquired by joining a particular group or by repeating slogans and reciting poetry. A homeland is really the product of the labour of its sincere and loyal children, who take stands and do things that are beneficial to all.

We are still suffering and we are still under occupation. A people that are suffering are in dire need of citizens who are lofty enough to reach the sun. They toil to acquire the trait of patriotism. They cannot acquire this quality by medals and titles. Good citizenship is acquired by hard work.

AL QUDS
November 17

The Israeli Position

The intra-Palestinian differences are growing daily over the convening of the Palestine National Council in Amman.

This Palestinian controversy, full of all kinds of differences, tends to lead some to forget, or more accurately to **pretend to forget, the Israeli** attitude or the Israeli point of view concerning these differences. Isn't Israel the base of this conflict, so why should we forget or pretend to forget?

Yet we are not going to follow up on that question now. But we would like to set forth the Israeli attitude toward the Amman PNC meeting, as stated by the Israeli media: "The Israeli foreign minister voiced his concern over the *rapprochement* between King Hussein and the PLO and over the convening of the PNC in Amman ... etc."

Which ministers share this manifest concern with Yitzhak Shamir?

Perhaps the Syrian ministers are foremost among them, and at the top of the list comes Hafez al-Assad. The concern of the Syrian regime has intensified over the *rapprochement* between Jordan and the Palestinians and over the inevitability of convening the PNC in the Jordanian capital.

Is this reasonable? How come Israel and Syria now share the task of resisting and rejecting the independent Palestinian national decision?

That is the stage and that is the only outcome of the nature of hindering the Palestinian national march. Any regime that does hinder the march will certainly meet with Israel regardless of all slogans.

By setting forth the Israeli position we would like to understand our positions clearly and to understand our differences seriously and deeply. Will this be fulfilled? Or are the opposition groups deeply immersed in the clatter of Damascus' voice, without paying attention to anything else?

AL FAJR
November 19

Suspicions of Syria

While Israel and the United States are both seeking and wishing to prevent the PNC from meeting next Thursday, Syria is trying earnestly to do the same thing. If Israel and the United States are trying to prevent the parley within the context of their strategy, Syria is doing so out of its desire to impose its guardianship on the PLO and to confiscate the independence of the Palestinian decision.

This compatibility raises questions about the relation of this coincidence to the shuttle of Richard Murphy between Syria and Israel which has resulted so far, at least publicly, in the Ras al-Naqoura talks between Lebanon and Israel. The Syrian forces invaded Lebanon in 1976 to prevent the establishment of a democratic progressive regime and to crush the Palestinian forces in accordance with a secret understanding with Kissinger, the former US secretary of state. We ask if the Syrian forces are required now to offer the Palestinian head on a silver plate to Washington in return for guaranteeing Syria's role in Lebanon?

But the convening of the 17th session on time is an urgent necessity to thwart these attempts. The Democratic Alliance factions are required to free themselves from the Syrian pressure and to attend the session.

AL SHA'AB
November 19

The 17th Session

Our people look forward to the 17th session due to be held in Amman Thursday.

This session should be the beginning of a new stage heralding the independence of the national Palestinian decision and a declaration of the failure of the continued plots.

We are sure that the National Council will reaffirm the basic stands of our people. It will re-endorse the resolutions of the 16th session. It will provide the answer to all the plans put forward and will put forth a working programme for the coming stage during which the Palestinian factor will be prominent.

While we deplore the absence of the Democratic Alliance factions for special circumstances, we are sure that these factions will soon join the Palestinian procession. The PNC session is supported by all our people. We hope that these factions will participate.

AL SHA'AB
November 20

The Peoples' Achievement

We believe that the statements by Palestinian officials and leaders during the past few days have reasserted some points and destroyed inquiries raised by the propaganda campaigns which have deviated from objectivity and slipped into abuse and castin, doubts.

The Palestinian leaders asserted beyond any doubt the legitimacy of convening the 17th PNC session and the respect of laws and bylaws concerning the council.

The emphasis on the substance of the resolutions to be adopted by the council is considered a slap in the face of those sitting in Damascus who claim that the council will adopt resolutions that are not compatible with the aspirations and hopes of our people.

Abu Jihad's statement that dialogue with Palestinian national factions will continue after the PNC meeting expresses the spirit that should prevail. The convening of the PNC means that all attempts at domination have failed.

While the masses of our people support the PNC meeting, they also demand that discussion be conducted in an objective and rational way.

AL SHA'AB
November 21

Question of Jerusalem

continued from page 10

by a group of Jews to smuggle explosives over the wall of the *Haram al-Sharif* in an apparent plot to blow up the Mosques of al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock was foiled by Arab guards. The intruders escaped and the police found on the site some army-issued grenades and several boxes which contained a quantity of explosives. Had such attempt succeeded it would have been one of the greatest provocations to hundreds of millions of Arabs and Muslims.

These aggressions bring back to memory the fears that were voiced in the report of the King-Crane Commission which prophetically warned of the danger to Christian and Muslim Holy Places were they to fall into Jewish hands. The King-Crane Commission was appointed in 1919 by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers at the Paris Peace Conference to elucidate the state of opinion in Palestine and Syria regarding the mode of settlement of their future following their detachment from Turkey. With respect to the Holy Places in Palestine the commission said: "There is a further consideration that cannot be justly ignored if the world is to look forward to Palestine becoming a definitely Jewish state, however gradually that may take place. That consideration grows out of the fact that Palestine is "the Holy Land" for Jews, Christians and Muslims alike. Millions of Christians and Muslims all over the world are quite as much concerned as the Jews with conditions in Palestine, especially with those conditions which touch upon religious feeling and rights. The relations in these matters in Palestine are most delicate and difficult.

"With the best possible intentions, it may be doubted whether the Jews could possibly seem to either Christians or Muslims proper guardians of the holy places, or custodians of the Holy Land as a whole. The reason is this: the places which are most sacred to Christians — those having to do with Jesus — and which are also sacred to Muslims, are not only not sacred to Jews, but abhorrent to them. It is simply impossible, under those circumsances, for Muslims and Christians to feel satisfied to have these places in Jewish hands, or under the custody of Jews.... It must be believed that the precise meaning, in this respect, of the complete Jewish occupation of Palestine hs not been fully sensed by those who urge the extreme Zionist programme. For it would intensify, with a certainty like fate, the anti-Jewish feeling both in Palestine and in all other portions of the world which look to Palestine as 'the Holy Land.'"

The fears expressed by the King Crane Commission about the dangers involved in the Jewish domination of Palestine and its Holy Places, and confirmed by Israeli actions in Jerusalem, constitute a writing on the wall.

Nullity Of Israel's Actions

The measures taken by Israel in Jerusalem since 1948 are null and void under international law and UN resolutions.

It is now a settled principle of the law of nations that no territory can be acquired by force, and much less if such territory possesses an international legal status. It follows that Israel's usurpation of Modern Jerusalem in 1948, and of the Old City and the rest of the *corpus separatum* in 1967 are unlawful acts which give it no right, title or sovereignty. Its status under international law is that of an occupier who exercises a *de facto* power only. Neither the recognition of the aggressor by other states nor passage of time constitute a cure for the illegality of the occupation and annexation.

Likewise, the uprooting of the Arab inhabitants, the confiscation of their property and the creation of settlements constitute violations of international law and the Geneva Convention of 1949 to which Israel is a party.

Israel's actions in Jerusalem are also null and void under UN resolutions.

In this regard, a difference may be observed between UN resolutions on Jerusalem adopted before and after 1967. The former dealt with the *corpus separatum* of Jerusalem while the latter dealt with the Old City and adjoining territory seized in 1967. The most relevant resolutions adopted before 1967 were General Assembly Resolution 181 of November 29, 1947, which was reaffirmed by Resolutions 194 of December 11, 1948 and 303 of December 9, 1949.

It is significant that such reaffirmation was made *after* the occupation of Modern Jerusalem by Israel and of the Old City by Jordan and despite their rejection of the international regime for the City of Jerusalem. Only *de facto* recognition of such occupation was granted by other states. The ground for not according *de jure* recognition was based upon the internationalisation of the *corpus separatum* of Jerusalem by a UN resolution which was still valid and operative. One consequence of such non-recognition was the refusal of most states to establish their diplomatic missions in Jerusalem.

Since 1967 UN resolutions have dealt specifically with the Old City. The UN has:

1. Affirmed "the legal status" of Jerusalem;

2. Condemned or censured Israel's actions in Jerusalem and proclaimed the nullity of all legislative and administrative measures taken to change the status and historic character of the city, including expropriations of land and properties and transfer of population;

3. Called upon Israel:

A. To withdraw from the territories occupied in 1967, which include the Old City of Jerusalem;

B. To rescind all measures taken to change the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of Jerusalem;

C. To permit the return of the Palestine refugees displaced in 1967;

D. To dismantle and cease the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

In addition, in its Resolution 478 of August 20, 1980 that censured the "basic law" of July 30, 1980, which proclaimed Jerusalem as Israel's eternal capital, the Security Council called upon all states which had established diplomatic missions in Jerusalem to withdraw them from the Holy City. As a result, the 13 states which maintained embassies in Jerusalem, namely the Netherlands and 12 Latin American states, withdrew them from the city. In this context, it is regrettable to learn from the press *(International Herald Tribune*, March 12, 1984) that bills were presented to the US Senate and House of Representatives by Israeli supporters to move the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The press has reported that Secretary of State George Shultz has warned Congress that passage of such a bill could provoke a wave of anti-US violence in the Islamic world.

Israel has not complied with a single UN resolution on Jerusalem: it did not withdraw from Jerusalem, it did not rescind a single measure it has taken, it has not permitted the return of the refugees and it has not dismantled or stopped the creation of settlements. On the contrary, it has continued more feverishly with the colonisation of the city by the transfer of settlers, the expropriation and confiscation of Arab property and the establishment of new settlements.

Steven Green

continued from page 5

offers, the author believes, will not be readily rejected if it comes down to this. The prospects of Egypt obtaining such weapons, however, will no doubt anger the US Congress, who may retaliate with further cuts in US military and economic aid to Egypt.

Based on his findings in Egypt, Green reaches a dim conclusion. Despite American cuts in aid to Egypt "... or of Israeli preemptive air attacks, in my opinion," he concludes, "it is likely that in the coming months Egypt will begin to prepare for war." Green was told by another Egyptian military official that Israel simply had much more arms than it needs for its self defence. This official, Major General Ahmad Fakr, the former assistant minister of defence for foreign affairs, told Green that Israel has become a country "out of balance" and it "should not be the only military power in the region." He blamed the repeated wars in the region on non-balance in favour of Israel caused by US policy in the region.

Egyptians, Green concludes, accepted the treaty with Israel under the assumption that with US encouragement, Israeli military superiority would be placed under restraints. It only needs a review of Israel's behaviour in the last two years to judge that Egypt's assumptions were wrong. Green warns the US and Israel that the next war, a certainty if the current situation prevails, will cause "widespread devastation of civilian population centres on both sides." What exists in the region, Green says, is not a *status quo*, "only a slow, steady drift toward war on a scale not yet seen in that part of the world" and one which will "almost certainly draw both the United States and the Soviet Union directly into the conflict."

Anti-Arab Terrorism

continued from page 9

led to the arrest of the gang.

A Spate Of Cases

The Dra'i family's TNT gang has been dismantled; the *Bnei Yehuda* cultists from Lifta are in psychiatric hospitals or in prison; Avrashumi's trial is nearing its completion and the trial of the Jewish underground is now underway in the Jerusalem District Court. The arsonists who torched the Baptist Church have not been found nor have the desecrators of graves that went by the name of *Keshet*. Jewish terrorism now has a representative in the Israeli parliament, who, bequeathed with parliamentary immunity, has been frothing at the mouth and threatening vengeance without letup since elected.

The security forces have experienced a brief lull. Most of the cases had been solved and it seemed that the police were returning to their normal routine. But then came the terrorist attack of October 28, 1984.

David Ben Shimol, an 18-and-a-half-year-old soldier doing his compulsory military service, deserted his unit and planted himself on the hillside facing the Cinemateque on Hebron Road in Jerusalem. At 3:33 pm, an Arab bus made its way up the incline, on its way from the East Jerusalem Central Bus Station to Hebron.

Ben Shimol fired a LAW rocket at the bus. He had stolen it from his training base a few days beforehand. The rocket hit the bus above the rear door, killing one passenger and wounding 11 others. Ben Shimol made a quick getaway, leaving behind both the rocket launcher and a letter, full of spelling mistakes, explaining the motives for the attack.

Activiting Kahane's Message

Ben Shimol, who signed himself "the Avengers," called on the government of Israel to institute the death penalty for terrorists. He wrote that his attack had been carried out in order to avenge Arab attacks, especially the murder of the Israeli student couple beside the Cremisan Monastery a week before. Ben Shimol began his letter with the religious acronym Orthodox Jews use in their written correspondence — Beh'sad, which means "with the help of heaven" — in order to create the impression that the attack was the work of a group of religious fanatics. He also wrote that the attack was the second to be carried out, the first having taken place on September 22, 1984 when a grenade was thrown at a cafe in the Muslim quarter of the Old City.

As soon as the serial number of the rocket was identified, Ben Shimol's army unit was contacted and the case was solved in less than a week. Ben Shimol confessed to the two attacks and even reconstructed them in the presence of the police. It's worth pointing out that the police had believed the September grenade attack to have been criminal in nature; Ben Shimol's confession solved that case as well.

Two other male soldiers and a woman soldier were also arrested in connection with the Ben Shimol case. One of them was released the following day and the woman soldier was released a short time later; the other soldier, however, was remanded in custody after it came out that he had known of Ben Shimol's intentions and done nothing to stop him.

The background to the Ben Shimol case differs from most of those presented above. He was the son of a large family that lived in the underprivileged Katamonim quarter in Jerusalem. Anti-Arab hatred and the desire for vengeance motivated him to do what he did; Ben Shimol's attack was not underpinned by a fanatical ideology, as was the case so many times in the past. During the investigation, deputy commander Baruch Amir — the man who headed the team that investigated the murder of Emil Gruensweig — lent the police team some of the experience he had garnered working on the Gruensweig case. Both cases shared a number of similarities and it later transpired that the suspects arrested in both cases came from the same type of social background. The two grew up in adjoining neighbourhoods, were known to the police and had been involved on the fringe of the criminal underworld. Both of them were motivated by hatred, which they had picked up on the street. They translated Kahane's statements into action and left a long trail of blood and malice in their wake. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, November 4, 1984)

continued next week

WEEKLY REVIEW

November 15, 1984

JABALYA YOUTH SENTENCED TO 11 YEARS IN PRISON

JABALYA — The Gaza military court sentenced Abd al-Karim Mohammed Shalhah of Jabalya refugee camp to 11 years in prison on charges of membership in an illegal organisation and carrying out a number of anti-Israeli armed attacks.

YOUTH SENTENCED FOR MEMBERSHIP

SA'IR — Mohammed Abd al-Khader Jaradat of the village of Sa'ir in the Hebron district was sentenced to one year in prison and two years suspended by the Ramallah military court on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

RAID ON MONEYCHANGERS IN BETHLEHEM

BETHLEHEM — Israeli policemen raided moneychangers' stores in Bethlehem and confiscated foreign currency found in their possession.

November 16, 1984

SOLDIERS FIRE AT ANSAR POWS

LEBANON — Reports from south Lebanon said Israeli soldiers opened fire at a group of detainees at Ansar camp during an anti-Israeli demonstration in the camp.

JORDANIAN PM BANNED FROM TRAVELLING

BETHLEHEM — A member of Jordan's parliament and resident of Bethlehem was banned by Israeli authorities from crossing the bridges to Jordan.

PM Mohammed Ahmad al-Thuwaib spent two week's vacation with his family in Bethlehem and was forbidden to return to Amman.

BOMB DISMANTLED IN NABLUS

NABLUS — Israeli bomb experts dismantled a bomb found in the centre of Nablus.

In a separate development, soldiers chased a number of youths in the city who pelted Israeli vehicles with stones.

November 18, 1984

ARAB DOCTORS PERMITTED TO CHECK PRISONS

NABLUS — The Israeli Jnaid prison administration has permitted Arab doctors to check ill detainees.

What's left of Biram. Former residents marched to the destroyed village, November 17. (story p.2)

November 19, 1984

PETROL BOMB TOSSED AT ARMY VEHICLE

QABATYA — A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli army vehicle in the village of Qabatya near Jenin, Israel Radio reported.

There were no injuries or damage reported.

AL-AQSA GUARD REMANDED FOR PRO-PLO PAMPHLETS

JERUSALEM — Maher Abu Sneineh, a guard at al-Aqsa Mosque, was ordered remanded into police custody for 15 days by the magistrate's court in Jerusalem on suspicion of distributing pro-PLO pamphlets to Muslim worshippers during Friday services.

November 20, 1984

3 STUDENTS WOUNDED IN BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY

BETHLEHEM — Three students from Bethlehem University were wounded when a fight broke out on campus between supporters and opponents of the meeting of the Palestine National Council in Amman.

The three were taken to hospital for treatment.

CURFEW LIFTED

BALATA — A curfew imposed on Balata camp near Nablus was lifted.

The curfew was imposed the day before after a pro-PNC demonstration in the camp. Several youths were detained for questioning.

Rallies were held every day in the occupied territories both for and against holding the Palestine National Council in Amman. Above: Bir Zeit students sponsored a conference November 19 in favour of the Amman meeting.

Gazan Islamic Leader Shot Dead

Unidentified gunmen shot and killed Isma'il Khatib, head of the Arabic language department at the Islamic University in Gaza, November 16.

Khatib, 39, a prominent leader in the Islamic Association in Gaza, was shot by two men in front of his home. Israeli military reports said that he was shot twice in the neck as he tried to get into his car. He was rushed to hospital but was pronounced dead on arrival.

Israeli media linked his killing to the assassination of Abd al-Hamid Qishtah, mayor of Rafah, last September 14 and the assassination attempt against Abdl al-Rahman Daradeye, head of the Federation of Labour Unions in the Gaza Strip, last month. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) had claimed responsibility for the assassination attempt against Darabeye.

The Islamic Association, the Islamic University administration and faculty, and the student council each issued separate statements condemning the attack.

PNC in Amman

continued from page 1

to the meeting headed by the Prime Minister Ahmad Obeidat.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat is scheduled to take the platform after the Secretary General of the Arab League, Shadli Qulaibi, and outline future PLO policy.

The PNC meeting in Amman has proceeded despite last minute efforts to avert it. Most members of the PLO's executive committee failed to attend the executive meeting called by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine last Saturday, November 17.

In a statement issued in Damascus November 21, the DFLP central committee blamed the National Alliance and Fateh for "pushing the situation in the Palestinian arena to this dangerous level." The statement also criticised the Popular Front for "not taking the positive stand required by the situation which could have led to a resolution of the crisis."

South Yemen and the Soviet Union also appealed to the Palestinian leadership to avert a split in the PLO, South Yemen's President Ali Nasr Mohammed sent a letter to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat asking him to avoid any action which would result in a split.

Despite the situation, Palestinian leaders from the Democratic Alliance and Fateh voiced opposition to the possibility of a PLO split. A PFLP statement issued in Damascus November 21 affirmed that both the PFLP and the DFLP oppose participating in any meeting parallel to the PNC which would result in a split. Fateh Executive Committee member and deputy commander of the Palestinian revolutionary forces, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), also stressed that intra-Palestinian dialogue will resume following the PNC meeting.

The Syrian and Jordanian media both gave exhaustive coverage to Palestinian leaders opposing or favouring the PNC meeting all week.

Palestinian Charity Held First Annual Riyadh Banquet

The United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. (UPA), a charitable organisation based in the United States, is pleased to announce that his royal highness Prince Salman Ibn Abd' al-Aziz al-Saud, governor of Riyadh, hosted the UPA's first annual Riyadh banquet.

UPA is an independent, non-profit, non-political charity established to alleviate the human suffering of the Palestinian people. The purpose of UPA is to raise funds and marshall the resources necessary to address the pressing problems which Palestinians face.

UPA provides financial assistance for programmes which are designed to improve social and economic conditions and which also aid in the implementation of lasting projects of community life, health and education.

In announcing UPA's first annual Riyadh banquet, Dr Mohammed Tarbush, chairperson of UPA's board of directors, said: "We are honoured that his royal highness Prince Salman Ibn Abd' al-Aziz al-Saud graciously extended his hospitality by hosting this first annual Riyadh banquet. The pressing needs of the Palestinian population call for concerted efforts and mobilisation of resources on an international scale. UPA's relief programme is a modest attempt to address the significant needs of the Palestinians."

The banquet was held at the Riyadh Marriott Hotel, Monday evening, November 19, 1984. A reception with Prince Salman preceded the banquet.

The purpose of the banquet was to introduce the UPA to the international business community and foreign corporations doing business in the kingdom and to enlist their support for projects for Palestinians in the areas of education, health, economic and community development and cultural arts.

The offices of UPA are located at Suite 916, 2025 Eye street NW, Washington, DC, 20006. Inquiries regarding projects may be addressed there.

Ramallah Hospital

continued from page 7

you think of the millions they spend on their hospitals."

The hospital often runs out of medical supplies causing lengthy delays in patient treatment or forcing patients to purchase such supplies from independent dealers at skyrocketing prices. One employee explained that the "hospital kindly treats patients below the age of three free of charge and since this age group constitutes a large number of our patients, we often run out of medical supplies necessary for their treatment." He said antibiotics and IV solutions are examples of necessities often unavailable for days.

Maintenance Problems

As a result of its low budget, the hospital lacks sufficient staff which makes maintenance of standard hygienic levels and cleanliness problematic. The hospital is understaffed in all sections, according to one doctor, including doctors, nurses, paramedics, and maintenance personnel. One nurse complained that the patient-nurse ratio is almost always 30 to one. "We are often asked to do things we were not trained to do because there are not enough of us to go around," she said. "We work under incredible pressure which affects our efficiency and our patient-nurse relationship that we try to maintain. But it is not easy," she said.

The lack of a sufficient maintenance crew at Ramallah Hospital, one nurse said, has resulted in unacceptable hygienic conditions in its wards. "Hospital wards are often dusty and filled with litter and cigarette butts. It is someting we have no control over," she added.

The physical appearance of Ramallah Government Hospital is indeed unimpressive. The elongated stone building is surrounded by loosely rooted cypress trees and a high cement wall. Garbage seems to grow on the hospital lawn.

The main entrance to the hospital is through the outpatient section, usually crowded with women and children from area villages. This section is supervised by only one nurse who copes with 30-40 patients a day. One woman said she had been waiting three days for medical treatment for her feverish 10-year-old son but the doctor's schedule was full. She described her experience at the hospital as chaotic and upsetting.

The first floor which houses internal medicine resembles a bomb shelter more than a hospital ward. It is dark and cold, and the floors are dirty. It consists of several medium-sized rooms, an operating theatre, administrative offices and toilets. The wards are crowded with five to seven beds close together. The second and the third floors for maternity and general surgery are in similar condition.

The hospital's maintenance crew is only three people who are responsible for hygiene in the entire three-storey building. The crew, who work only the morning shift, is definitely not enough to do the whole job, said one nurse.

Dirt is visible in the hallways; paper tissues and cigarette ends are unswept underneath the large signs cautioning "No smoking" and "Remember You Are In a Hospital, Please Keep It Clean and Quiet." According to some hospital staff, hospital patients and visitors often ignore regulations that forbid littering, which makes it even harder for the janatorial staff to do the job efficiently. Rooms are no cleaner. In addition to poorly painted walls and rusty pipes running along the walls, there are blood and nicotine stains which long for a good wash. Flies and mosquitos find the hospital a welcoming home but patients do not. "It is natural for a hospital to smell of medicine and blood but not of garbage and toilets," commented one patient.

Hospital doctors interviewed by *Al Fajr* agreed that hygiene is one of the hospital's biggest problems which has negatively affected its reputation. One doctor thought that at least 10 more people should be hired for an extra night shift. "The hospital has sent many official requests to the authorities to hire more crew but the answer so far has been negative," he said.

Staff complain that hospital visitors also refuse to cooperate with regulations that forbid outside food and drink in patients' rooms. One nurse said a great number of people attempt to smuggle food to their patient relatives sometimes even through the windows and side doors. "These actions need to be stopped since lives of patients on strict medical diets can be endangered when they eat food not assigned to them," she said. A number of patients testified that hospital food is satisfactory but mentioned that their relatives bring in food out of family custom and patients, to be polite, feel obliged to eat it.

The hospital's central heating is the original, now 23-year-old, system. It works 50 percent of the time, according to a hospital doctor, in only a few privileged sections of the hospital. The system is beyond repair. One woman who recently stayed in the hospital for one week said that during the day the hospital was far too hot — the radiators are "hotter than a boiling pot" —and during the night the hospital is colder than outside and its radiators are like ice. She said she asked a relative to bring her extra blankets from home since the hospital provided little protection from the cold. In addition broken windows can be seen throughout the hospital.

Ziadeh said that his Ramallah Health Foundation requested a new central heating system four years ago, but the military administration agreed to grant the request only three weeks ago. The authorities have signed a contract already, but he expects that installment will take one year or more.

The hospital's internal administration is very limited, however, in what it can do. Every decision it makes, from replacing broken windows to purchasing advanced equipment, has to pass through Government Hospitals Administration channels and then to be approved by Israeli health officials in the military government. The GHA is operated by Arabs but it must work under Israeli supervision. It keeps records and statistics of all government hospitals in the West Bank but it also acts as the middleman between these hospitals and the military authorities.

Since the death of its director Dr Shehadeh Shehadeh in September, the department has had no director. An independent health observer said the Israeli authorities are in the process of choosing a new director who is "a man of their liking, a director who is less enthusiastic and concerned than Dr Shehadeh."

Low Salaries

Despite the fact that some of the Ramallah Hospital doctors are among the best in their field and according to one health observer, "definitely of international standards," the hospital staff suffer from an Israeli policy which keeps them earning much less than their Jewish counterparts. One doctor, for example, said a top specialist earns the equivalent of US$500 per month. An Israeli specialist working in an Israeli government hospital, however, can earn quadruple the amount of his Palestinian counterpart, although Ramallah hospital is also registered as a government institution. One Ramallah doctor noted angrily that "Doctor's wages of US$2000 are hardly a fable in Israeli hospitals. It is rather a fable that they [the occupation authorities] expect us to support our families on US$300-$500 per month." He added, "House rent and food bills can hardly be covered by this scant amount of money, let alone children's schooling and basic needs."

This problem of low salaries has unfortunately led to some staff turnover. "It is obvious we are working at this hospital out of sheer personal incentive and patriotic responsibility," one doctor maintained, adding "It is not surprising, however, to see many valuable doctors resign from government hospitals and go into private practice or leave the country altogether. This phenomenon represents a great loss to the Palestinian community which is in great need of their services." The doctor thought a moment, then said, "But perhaps that is what the Israelis want." Salaries for nurses and paramedics are also very low, say members of the staff.

Clearly the Ramallah Government Hospital with its current medical facilities and physical condition falls far short of being an efficient and acceptable institution. No development in hospital facilities or health care has occurred since 1967. Being the largest government hospital in the West Bank, it needs a larger budget in order to render acceptable services to its patients. Both doctors and community members interviewed realize this and point out that hospital and West Bank health conditions probably will not improve until a satisfactory political settlement can be reached.

West Bank Development

continued from page 16

military occupation."

The Jerusalem agricultural economist explained that what Palestinians want is a strategy of *sumud* — development strategy which allows them "to survive on their own land in dignity and honour until liberation is possible." Matar called such a strategy "existentialist development." He gave his audience two examples where immediate action needs to be taken. One is the proposed regional road plan no. 50 which will destroy thousands of agricultural acres. The other problem was the Israeli threat to demolish the homes of tenant farmers in the Jiftlik area of the Jordan Valley. [Since the meeting 73 houses have been destroyed in the area — ed.]

After an all-day discussion, the American group agreed to the request of the Palestinians that they demonstrate their intentions before any investment is carried out. The Palestinian delegation told the Americans, "We don't want your money. We need permits to carry out many projects which we already have money for."

The six Palestinian professionals told the Americans they are not representatives of the occupied territories. "We told them that we are not planning to be their counterparts in the West Bank," said Dr Shawqi Harb. They told the Americans that they must deal with the local institutions if they want to implement any projects.

Credibility

At the end of the closed meetings the American group pledged to lobby the Israeli government to obtain the approval of a number of projects in the West Bank within a period of three months. The projects include permission to carry on the construction of the engineering college of Najah University, to license the Hebron hospital, to allow the Hebron cement factory to continue its feasibility study and to resolve the issue of the threatened Jiftlik Valley farmers.

According to Palestinian professionals who attended the meeting, any and all future projects undertaken by the business group must be initiated, owned and managed by local Palestinians.

Israeli Press

The American group worked quietly, if not secretly, but details of the meetings broke in the Israeli press shortly after Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres met in New York with several members from the group. A number of Israeli parties used the reports to attack Peres. Members of Knesset from Likud, Tehiya and Kach — all settlement militants — blasted Peres for encouraging the group. The Knesset members claimed Peres was helping Palestinians establish an independent state. Even Steven Cohen felt pressured to respond to some of the charges. He told an Israeli journalist that if Americans helped blacks in the Bronx to build a hospital that does not mean they are helping them establish a black state there.

Palestinian Press

The Palestinian press was also vocal about the subject. For different reasons, both the nationalist opposition *Al Mithaq* and the pro-Jordanian *Al Quds* led the attack. In addition to translating articles published in the Israeli Hebrew press, both papers attacked the six Palestinians who attended the New York meeting. *Al Mithaq* called the American businessmen's scheme "another Camp David attempt at bypassing Palestinian legitimate rights."

In a long article in *Al Quds* Sa'eb Araqat, regular columnist and the public relations director at Najah University, said that what Palestinians want is national rights and not merely humanitarian gestures or civil rights. Araqat cited a number of examples dating back to 1910 of foreign attempts to "improve the quality of life" at the price of national rights.

The weekly *Al Talia* ran a front-page story charging the American businessmen with trying to create an alternative leadership in the occupied territories. *Al Talia* said that the aim was to create a leadership that will approve "surrenderist schemes like the Camp David or Reagan plans." Dakkak commented that "duty deems that these humanitarian projects aimed at improving life in the occupied territories should be rejected as long as they are carried out within a general political framework which opposes legitimate Palestinian rights."

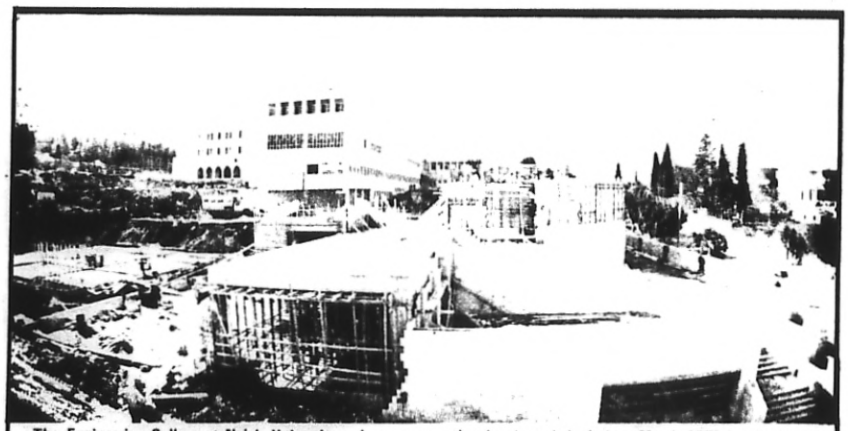
Pessimism about the American push for local projects also developed from within the group of participants in the New York meeting. Bustami told an *Al Fajr* Arabic reporter that he doubted the Americans would succeed in convincing Israel to allow the projects which Palestinians already had money for.

Another Palestinian participant, Shawqi Harb, said that with the Israeli destruction of 73 shacks in the Jiftlik Valley, the Americans lost credibility. As far as Harb is concerned, the envisioned projects will not be accomplished but the experience was an excellent means to show the Jewish-Americans the brutality of the Israeli occupation.

The economic infrastructure of the West Bank and Gaza, neglected by Jordan and Egypt during their administrations of the area and deliberately underdeveloped by Israel, is now a subject of interest for American investors — for political and business reasons. Daoud Kuttab describes a recent US conference on local development, from a Palestinian perspective.

US Businessmen Confer On West Bank Development

The subject of development in the Palestinian occupied territories has become in the past few months an important subject for some Palestinian, Israeli and US circles. The issue was pointedly referred to by no less an official than US Secretary of State George Shultz. It was further exaggerated when Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres parroted Shultz's statements about "improving the quality of life" for Palestinians on the eve of his visit to the United States to collect his US$2 billion allowance. Whether by coincidence or intention, the recent visit of six Palestinian professionals to the United States and their meeting with a newly-formed *ad hoc* group of American businessmen only added fuel to an already burning topic.



The Engineering College at Najah University, whose construction has been halted since March 1983 by the Israeli military authorities. The engineering college, Hebron Hospital, the Hebron cement company and the plight of recently evacuated Jiftlik farmers were projects specifically requested by Palestinian participants to the meeting.

Development

No one is against development. But the question of development is many-edged from the various definitions it is given by different parties and the roles each party hopes it will play.

The West Bank and Gaza Strip have for the past 17 years of occupation become economically dormant. The Palestinian economic infrastructure has been completely erased. Proof is that the Israeli market now provides more than 90 percent of the occupied territories' imports. The Israeli authorities have blocked tens of development projects proposed by local Palestinian authorities and groups, as well as millions of dollars worth of development projects suggested by foreign private voluntary organisations. The Israeli government has, however, permitted the funding of selected projects which the occupying power preferred and took credit for. By allowing foreign funding organisations to support projects, which are normally the responsibility of the state, the military government partly relieves itself of this burden and uses its budget instead for other projects — for example, settlement building.

Israeli military authorities are concerned that any kind of infrastructural development for the Palestinians will be a step toward the establishment of a Palestinian state. During the past seven years of Likud rule, there was no relaxation in the policy against licensing Palestinian-inspired development projects. Attitudes began to change somewhat after a report put out by Israeli researcher Meron Benvenisti blasted Israeli policy towards how US aid money was spent in the occupied territories.

Benvenisti surveyed 358 projects submitted for Israeli approval between 1971 and 1983 by private US voluntary agencies working in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. His conclusions were that Israel ensures US aid goes to strengthen personal property while "forcibly restraining communal development." Shortly after Benvenisti's report, Shultz came up with an "improving the quality of life" statement. And not too long after that, Peres used the same message to court US officials on whom he was planning to call to rescue the Israeli economy.

Arab-Jewish Business Group

Apparently independent of the US official statements, a group of American businessmen also hit upon the idea of investing in the occupied territories. The American group, which includes prominent Jewish and Arab businessmen, has met over the past year-and-a-half. Among the names that have been quoted by newspapers and Palestinian participants in the meeting are: Lester Crown, chief executive of General Dynamics; Jay Pritzker, owner of Hyatt Hotels; Steve Shalom, New York banker; Henry Kaufman, Wall Street economist; and Robert Arnow, Robert Steinberg and Larry Tisch, all New York businessmen.

Prominent Jewish activists in the group include Washington lawyer Alfred Moses, former Bnai Brith official Arnold Foster, former World Jewish Congress President Philip Klutznick and Howard Squadron, the former president of the American Jewish Congress.

Prominent Arabs include former Pan Am President and father to Jordan's Queen Nour Najib Halabi, head of the American Enterprise Institute Bill Baroudy, and Zahi Khouri and Joe Jacobs, both businessmen.

Former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is also reportedly one of the prime movers behind the group. He is said to have been responsible for the meeting between Peres, Howard Squadron and Najib Halabi.

The long-term goals of this group are not clear nor are its political motives, if any, known. Israeli papers quoted a number of Jews in the group as saying that a developed economy would dissuade Palestinians from 'terror' activities. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the subsequent massacres in the Palestinian camps obviously pained and embarrassed many American Jews. According to a Palestinian participant in the New York meetings, some of the American Jews wanted to relieve their consciences by relief work, leading Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to call the group a "bunch of do-gooders." Another explanation is that the whole project started as a personal challenge between two businessmen — an Arab-American and a Jewish-American.

Dr Gabi Baramki, who is a relative of one of the group's leading businessmen, Zahi Khoury, explained the motives of the Arab-American group: "They felt that as long as the Palestinians were economically crippled they had no hope of regaining their independence." Baramki said Khoury and the others felt that by helping the Palestinians "stand on their feet," they would be able to demand their rights from a position of strength.

Invitation

After more than a year of private meetings the group started working publicly. A meeting was arranged with US Secretary of State Shultz in which they explained their aims. Shultz was reportedly pleased and told them that they were the first group of concerned people who had come to him with a plan of action rather than to ask him to do something. After seeing Shultz the Americans were ready to meet with West Bank Palestinians. After initial disagreement within the group over who would do the inviting, Zahi Khoury won the right to select local participants. He called Baramki and asked him to invite leading Palestinian specialists in health, agriculture, education and business. Baramki turned to the heads of professional unions, asking them to attend or to extend invitations to other experts in the various fields. After consultations a list of eight was agreed upon.

Local participants included: Salah Bustami, a Nablus physician and head of the West Bank Physicians' Union; Shawqi Harb, heart surgeon at Ramallah government hospital; Ibrahim Matar, an agro-economist employed by the Mennonite Central Committee; Hisham Awartani, an economics professor at Najah University in Nablus; Khaled Isseili, a member of the deposed Hebron council and a Hebron businessman; and Ibrahim Abd al-Hadi, a member of the deposed Nablus council, owner of an insurance company and one of the proposed directors for the new Arab bank. Mustafa Natshe, acting mayor of Hebron who was deposed by the Israelis in 1983, was also invited but forbidden by Israeli military authorities from leaving the West Bank.

Among other invitees Daoud Istanbuli, an agricultural expert, did not attend. The head of the federation of professional trade unions, Ibrahim Dakak, who was in the US at the time, came to New York and met with some of the members of the Palestinian group but did not attend the regular meeting. Baramki himself was unable to go because of an unresolved student strike at Bir Zeit University.

Israeli papers reported that the American contingent were hoping to have Palestinian leaders who would not take their cues from the PLO. A number of suggested participants who had clear Jordanian leadings were crossed out.

New York Meeting

The American businessmen chose City University of New York as the site and asked Steven Cohen, the head of the Institute for Middle East Peace and Development at the university, to carry out arrangements for the two-day meeting scheduled October 15-16.

Ibrahim Matar told *Al Fajr* the Palestinian participants did not discuss anything political at the two-day conference. His address, given on behalf of the Palestinian delegation, generally outlined the social and economic problems in the occupied territories.

In his remarks Matar told the American businessmen that "economic development is no substitute for the political freedom and the basic human right of self-determination and independence for Palestinians living in the occupied territories." He warned his listeners "not to forget the present realities, mainly that 1.3 million Palestinians are living under conditions of

continued on page 15